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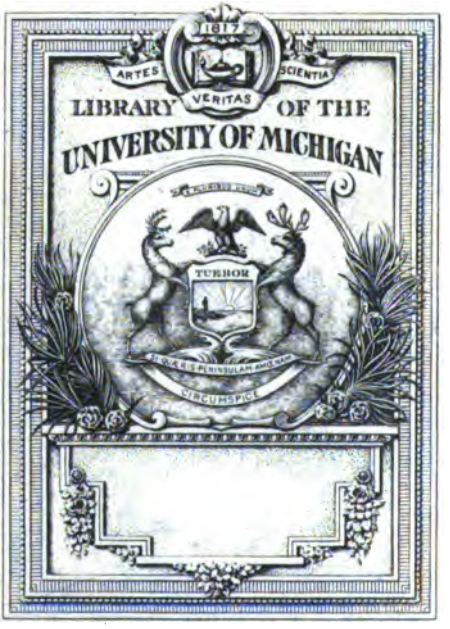
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VINDICATION

OF THE

GREAT REVOLUTION

IN

ENGLAND, &c.

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A

VINDICATION

OF THE

GREAT REVOLUTION

IN

ENGLAND

In A. D. MDCLXXXVIII.

And of the CHARACTERS of

King WILLIAM and Queen MARY;

Together with a

CONFUTATION

Of the CHARACTER of

KING *JAMES* the SECOND;

As Misrepresented by the AUTHOR of

The Complete History of England;

By EXTRACTS from

Dr. SMOLLETT:

To which are added,

Some STRICTURES on the said HISTORIAN'S Account of the PUNISHMENT of the REBELS In A. D. MDCCXV and MDCCXLVI;

AND

On the EULOGIUM given to the *Complete History of* England, By the CRITICAL REVIEWERS.

By *THOMAS COMBER*, A. B.

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΟΜΑΤΟΣ ΣΟΥ ΚΡΙΝΩ ΣΕ. Luc. xix. 22.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ROBINSON in *Ludgate-street*, 1758.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM PITT, Esq; *&c.*

SIR,

IN fabulous Antiquity, we find a few Instances of exquisite Barbarity, which not only *killed* the *Child*, but *dreſt* it as a *Feaſt* for the *Parent*. Something of this Sort has *Great-Britain*, a Land of Wonders, lately ſeen. An Hiſtorian has *torn* and *ſullied* the Veſture of LIBERTY, as depainted in our authentic Records, and then dedicated the mangled Spoils, with the Inſolence of Triumph, to one of her univerſally-allowed trueſt Patrons.

When

353808

When this Event ſhall be read in our Annals by impartial Poſterity, it will be confeſt characteriſtic of the Government of *GEORGE* THE MERCIFUL, that *with Impunity* an Hiſtorian publiſhed a Catalogue of *Slanders* on *WILLIAM* THE GREAT, inſcribed to *WILLIAM* THE INCORRUPT!

Security is the Bane of *Peace* in *Great-Britain*, as in every other Nation. Her Foes are too cunning not to *lull* her in the *Slumber*, to which her Sons too much incline. Some Years ago, Lord *Bolingbroke* told us, 'The *Treaſon* of *Jacobites evaporates* with their Wine.' Yet ſoon after broke out a Rebellion. The undoubted Friends of *Great-Britain* now ſay, '*Jacobitiſm* received a *fatal* Blow in the laſt Commotion.' Be it ſo. Yet let us remember, 'The Serpent can *bite*, even when it has received its *fatal* blow.' It may *live* long, tho' *languid*, and do *much Miſchief* even when it has loſt its Vigour.

The

The ſame unſuſpicious Friends of the *proteſtant Succeſſion* apprehend that the Author of *The Complete Hiſtory of England* will meet with no Readers, or Admirers at leaſt, except *papiſtical Jacobites*. But if they have Leiſure to look into public Prints, they may eaſily ſee, that a *numerous ſecond* Edition of the Work is not ſufficient to *ſatiate* the *Rage* of Curioſity, and therefore the firſt ten Numbers are reprinting! Shall we *ſay*, or even *think*, that this extraordinary Demand is to be aſcribed to *Jacobites* and *Papiſts*? This *eaſy* but *falſe* Account of the Matter would confirm the Opinion of an *univerſal Defection* from our happy Eſtabliſhment, which, as Dr. *Smollett dreams*, exiſted ſoon after the Rebellion under the late King.

If we will liſten to the Voice of *Truth*, ſhe will inform us, that this Hiſtorian holds a *Pencil* with which he *colours high*, and yet in a *lively Manner*; and who-

whoever thus paints, will find a great Majority of thoſe who view his Works, inattentive to the *falſe Lines* in the *Pourtrait*. Hence many ſincere Friends of our happy Government peruſe the Hiſtory with Pleaſure, and are not apprehenſive of its pernicious Tendency.

No Man can be more a Foe to *Perſecution* in *every* Shape than I am; yet I cannot, without Indignation, ſee my heedleſs Countrymen *laviſh* their Wealth on a Perſon who muſt laugh at their Thoughtleſneſs, while his Principles teach us, it may be applied to Purpoſes the moſt diſagreeable to true Patriots.

I am,

SIR,

A ſincere Admirer
of your private
and public Virtues,

THOMAS COMBER, JUN^R.

A

VINDICATION, &c.

MANY of our moſt celebrated Hiſtorians * juſtly obſerve, that the *Revolution* in *England* in One thouſand ſix hundred and eighty eight, is *not parallelled* in Hiſtory. As the Grandeur of the Event muſt ſtrike every one who attends only to the *Fact*, ſo the *apparent* Inſufficiency of natural Cauſes to produce ſuch an Effect, will lead the unprejudiced

A *Hi-*

* See Mr. *Echard* in his Hiſtory of the Revolution, and Mr. *Tindal* in the Beginning of his Dedication to the Duke of *Cumberland*. The former thus expreſſes himſelf. "A Change ſo MIGHTY and "SUDDEN at that Time, and ſince ſo EFFECTUAL "and PERMANENT, may be ONLY a Matter of "WONDER in *theſe* Times, but more LIKE a "ROMANCE in after-Ages. For, taking it with "ALL its Circumſtances, the *whole Turn* is with-"out PRECEDENT or COMPARISON." P. 270.

Hiſtorian to commence *Divine*, and diſcover the Traces of an *active Providence* in the Completion of it.

The Overthrow of *civil* and *religious* Tyranny, followed by the Re-eſtabliſhment of *civil* and *religious Freedom*, appears to every judicious Mind an Object of ſuch Importance, as to deſerve the Interpoſition of the *King of Kings*; eſpecially if we conſider, that the Conſequences of this *Overthrow* and *Re-eſtabliſhment* affect not one Nation, or even three Kingdoms *only*, but all *Europe*, the whole Chriſtian World!

And when we conſider the Characters of the Perſons concerned in this great Tranſaction, as on one hand the Under-Actors were, for the moſt Part, Men from whoſe *intellectual* and *moral* Talents one could not reaſonably have expected the vigorous Efforts they made in Behalf of *Liberty* and *Religion*, and hence it appears that their Errors and Paſſions were employed by an overruling *Providence* to effect its gracious Deſigns; ſo, on the other, the Characters of the two * principal Agents, the Prince and Prin-

* Though the Princeſs was not *active* in the Manner the Prince was, yet her Right of Inheritance on the *Abdication* of her Father, made her Acquieſcence neceſſary, and it has, in the Opinion of

Princeſs of *Orange*, were ſuch Patterns of Virtue and Religion, as we might reaſonably ſuppoſe the Father of all Mankind would *ſelect* and *prepare* for his chief Inſtruments, in ſuch an amazing Work of Love to his Children. An excellent Writer obſerves, that "though God may employ *bad* "Men in the *Overthrow* of States, he only "employs *good* ones in their *Re-eſtabliſhment* "on proper Principles." This Remark ſeems not only authorized by the Voice of *Hiſtory*, * but confirmed by the *Nature* of Things. For when *Deſtruction only* is to be effected, it is not much to the Purpoſe what inſtrument is employed. But when a *Re-eſtabliſhment* of ſomething oppoſite to what has been *deſtroyed*, follows, it appears *highly expedient*, if not *abſolutely neceſſary*, in order to reduce Mens Minds to a Submiſſion to the *new* Government, that its principal Author or Authors ſhould appear ſuch as God

of every one who impartially weighs Circumſtances, all the Merit of an *active Interpoſition*, and gives her a juſt Title to be ſtiled a *principal Actreſs* in the *Revolution*.

* It may be here ſufficient to name *Alexander* and *Cyrus*, *Charles* the Ninth, *Henry* the Third and the Fourth of *France*, *Charles* the Fifth and his Son *Philip*, Emperors, and the three firſt Princes of the Houſe of Orange.

may be *reaſonably* ſuppoſed to *approve*; conſequently their Conduct muſt be agreeable to the Rules of *natural Juſtice and Mercy*. Thus the Characters of King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY* have appeared, on the moſt *impartial* and *ſtrict* Examination hitherto made, truly *heroical*, and ſuch as we might expect the chief Inſtruments of the *glorious Revolution* they effected, would be.

On the other hand, King *JAMES*, after a like Examination, appears to have *deſtroyed* that Courage, and *all other* * good Qualities which he inherited from *Nature*, by the Poiſon of *popiſh* Bigotry, and to have made himſelf the juſt Object of *divine Vengeance* in the *Revolution* he endured, by his Determination to *violate* the *civil* and *religious* Liberty of his Subjects, and reduce *Great-Britain* to the Model of *France* and *Rome*. In ſhort, as Mr. *Hume* rightly obſerves †, "*JAMES* THE SECOND WAS "ONE OF THE MOST INTOLERABLE SO-"VEREIGNS THAT EVER SATE ON THE "THRONE OF ENGLAND."

The

* See the latter Part of my *View* of Popery as *totally oppoſite*, 1ſt, to *revealed* Religion, 2dly, to *natural*.

† Vol. 2d of his Hiſtory of *England*, at the Concluſion.

The Equity of the Principles of *the Revolution*, has never been denied by any Man, except thoſe who maintained an INDEFEASIBLE HEREDITARY RIGHT, or, as our great *ethic* * Poet, though a *profeſſed* Papiſt, better expreſſes it,

THE RIGHT DIVINE OF KINGS TO GOVERN WRONG!

And we are juſtly told by the *celebrated* Author of *The Diſſertation on Parties* †, that this Notion of an *indefeaſible Right* in *one* Man to *pillage* and *murther* many, or, as the ſame Poet admirably ſings,

TH' ENORMOUS FAITH OF MILLIONS MADE FOR ONE,

is ſufficient to ſhock the Common Senſe of an *Hottentot* or a *Samoiede* ‡. Surely, if

* Mr. Pope in his *Eſſay on Man*, Ep. III.

† See Letter the 2d.

‡ On this Head of Conſideration of the Traces of *Providence* in the *Revolution*, let me refer the attentive Reader to the following Extract from the excellent Diſcourſe of an *amiable* Writer. "When "there is an *extraordinary Combination* of Events, "uſual and ordinary if ſingly conſidered, to ſome "great End, and hereby ſuch a Succeſs as vaſtly "ex-

if there ever was a *dignus Deo vindice nodus*, an Intangling of *Principles* and *Intereſts*, which *only* the Hand of *Omnipotence* could *diſſolve*, it was when the Principle of *Religion* miſ-

" exceeded all Hopes and Expectations that could " reaſonably be built upon the *Poſture of Things*, " and the *natural Influence of ſecond Cauſes*: When " alſo theſe Events are in Matters of *great Moment*, " and ſuch as we may have juſt Reaſon to believe " that God would be moſt eſpecially concerned " for, ſuch as tend in any *eminent Manner* to pro- " mote his *Glory*, and *advance* his *Kingdom* in the " World: When, laſtly, ſuch Events happily *ſur-* " *prize* Men in a moſt *ſeaſonable and critical Mo-* " *ment*, when the Hopes of all ſuch Good and " Happineſs as arrives, was upon the very point " of Turning, and giving Place to Inactivity and " Deſpair. Theſe are ſome of the Marks and " Characters by which, with moſt Safety and leaſt " Preſumption, we may hope to diſtinguiſh God's " *extraordinary Interpoſitions* from the *more common* " *Operations* of his Providence." See Dr. *Burrow*'s Eſſay on *divine Providence*, printed at *London* 1725, p. 44. Mr. *Echard* ſays, " Had not *Providence* " concurred with an *unuſual Meeting* of different " *Powers* and *Intereſts abroad*, and an *unaccounta-* " *ble* Train of *Neglects* and *Infatuations at home*, the " ſame Ruin which fell upon the Heads of the *Ro-* " *miſh* Party, muſt have ſeized upon the *Heads* " and *Members* of the other." See the Preface to his Hiſtory of the *Revolution*.

miſapplied, had blinded Men ſo effectually, that, without divine Aid, they could not diſtinguiſh their *natural Rights* from the *Uſurpations* of *Tyranny*.

Though the Principles of the *Revolution* are now ſo *generally* and *fully* known, yet (behold!) an Author of a *Complete Hiſtory of England* (as he *preſumptuouſly* calls his Work) appears, who would perſuade us, that the *great Revolution* above-mentioned was begun on the Principles of *impious Rebellion*, and executed on thoſe of *Folly* and *Abſurdity*; that then was opened the *poiſoned Source* of all thoſe Calamities, which muſt prove *fatal* to the Nation, and conſequently King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY* are the moſt *deteſtable*, the moſt *execrable* Characters; whereas King *JAMES* was made *virtuous* by *Popery!*

It would be no very difficult Taſk to confute all theſe Poſitions by inconteſtible Authorities referred to by Hiſtorians of the moſt eſtabliſhed Reputation, who have wrote of the Period of Time in Queſtion. But thoſe Materials could not be brought together in a ſmall Compaſs or a ſhort Time. In a large Work, nearly ready for the Preſs, I ſhall have an Occaſion to give im-

partial Readers a comprehenſive View of the real Characters of the Princes here mentioned. At preſent I ſhall confine myſelf to the Confutation of the above Aſſertions of our Hiſtorian, by the Authority of *one ſingle* Writer, againſt whom he cannot *poſſibly* except. I mean DR. SMOLLETT!—

As the Settling the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* was the *natural* Conſequence of the *Revolution*, it is conſiſtent that the Enemies of *this* ſhould throw all the Load of Odium they can on thoſe who reign by Virtue of *that*. Accordingly we find that our Hiſtorian repreſents the *late* and *preſent* King as INHUMANLY SEVERE to the Partiſans of the Houſe of *Stuart*. This *flagrant Inſult* on the *Lenity* of the Government, under which our Hiſtorian dares exerciſe ſo much *Licentiouſneſs*, ſhall be properly anſwered in the Concluſion of this *Vindication*.

Our Hiſtorian having ſtated fairly enough the Argument of the *Revolutioners*, thus expreſſes himſelf. "The FALLACY and TREACHERY of this Argument were DEMONSTRATED." B. VIII. C. III. §. II. Now as *Demonſtration* affords the higheſt Kind of *Conviction*, except *Intuition*, which can be obtained on any Subject, it ſeems not poſſible

ble to conceive a more expreſs Condemnation of *revolution* Principles than is here given.

Again ſays the Hiſtorian *, "Lord "Chief-Juſtice *Holt* declared, that although "a *bare* Conſpiracy or Deſign to levy War, "was not TREASON within the Statute of "*Edward* the third, yet if the Deſign or "Conſpiracy be to *kill* or *depoſe*, or *impri-* "*ſon* the *King*, by the Means of levying "War, then the Conſultation and Conſpi- "racy to levy War, becomes HIGH-TREA- "SON, though no War be *actually* levied. "THE SAME INFERENCE MIGHT HAVE "BEEN DRAWN AGAINST THE AUTHORS "AND INSTRUMENTS OF THE REVOLU- "TION." *Ibid.* Ch. V. §. XXXII.

It is true, our Hiſtorian does not *expreſsly* ſay, "that the ſame Inference might "JUSTLY have been drawn againſt the Au- "thors and Inſtruments of the Revolution." But the common Uſe of Language ſhews, he muſt *ſo* mean. Had he only meant, that the Partiſans of King *JAMES*, if he had ſub-

* In the *Monthly Review* for April 1758, not publiſhed till this *Vindication* was ready for the Preſs, *this* and a *few others* of the Hiſtorian's Paſſages, examined in this Piece, are juſtly reprehended.

ſubdued the Prince of *Orange*, might have drawn this Inference, *though unjuſtly*, he both *ought to* and *ſurely would* have expreſſed himſelf in this latter Manner. Men do not uſe to ſpeak of all the random Inferences which may be unjuſtly drawn from Premiſſes; or if they did, they ſhould ſay *expreſsly*, they meant ſuch. Beſides, if an Author may be interpreted *fairly*, by comparing him with himſelf, we have ſo expreſs a Condemnation of *revolution* Principles above, we cannot doubt, that the Hiſtorian meant here alſo to condemn them, and teach his Readers, that *JAMES* the ſecond continued as much *really* King of *Great-Britain*, after he had broke through all the *Engagements* of *Government*, as he was before; conſequently, it was HIGH-TREASON in the *Revolutioners* to oppoſe him *.

But

* The Hiſtorian repreſents the Duke of *Leeds* as ſaying in the Caſe of the infamous *Sacheverel*, "Had not the *Revolution* been effected, *Revolutioners* had been *Rebels*." *Ub. ſup.* Ch. X. §. XXI. Now ſince in Reality *Revolutioners* could not have been *more* or *leſs* Rebels, becauſe they were *leſs* or *more* ſucceſsful, and this Sentence is put into the Mouth of a *Revolutioner*, conſidered detachedly

it

But Dr. *Smollet* tells us, that the *Revolutioners* "SUPPORTED THE NATURAL "RIGHTS OF MANKIND." *Ub. ſup.* C. III. § II. Now theſe are *inalienable*, becauſe *intruſted* with us by the *Sovereign of Sovereigns*, in order to inable us to execute the Duties we owe to *Man* and *God*.

Indeed it is true, it may ſometimes be not only *lawful*, but even *praiſe-worthy* in us to reſtrain the Exerciſe of theſe *natural Rights* in Matters of *little* or *no* Conſequence, when greater Good will reſult to *ourſelves* and the *Public* from ſuch *partial* and *temporary* Reſtraint.

---

it might be ſuppoſed to mean only, that *Revolutioners* would have been *treated* as *Rebels*; though this Sentiment is ſo trifling, it deſerves not to be expreſſed. But we find, that this is not the Senſe of this Sentence; for the Nobleman is immediately repreſented as adding, "He knew of no Right but "*hereditary*." How much leſs then can the Hiſtorian be ſuppoſed, when ſpeaking in his *own* Perſon, to mean any thing but what I aſcribe to him!

N. B. The *Impartiality* with which I here and elſewhere treat the Character of the Duke of *Leeds*, to whom I ſtand related by Blood, muſt plead my Excuſe for the like *Impartiality* towards the Relatives of my Friends, when the Intereſts of *Truth* and *Liberty* require me to ſay any thing not to their Advantage.

ſtraint. But under this Deſcription can never come the Giving up the Diſpoſal of all our Property, the Profeſſion of that Religion we believe *true*, and even our Lives, to the Caprice of a bigoted King. And it deſerves Notice, that though theſe *Rights* are indeed *inalienable*, ſo that no *Preſcription* can lie againſt the *original* and *true* Proprietors, yet when a People ſeem in *Fact* to aſſent to ſuch *Alienation*, they make it *extremely difficult*, and ſometimes *morally impoſſible* for their Heirs to recover the Enjoyment of them. Dr. *Smollett* therefore ſuggeſts an unanſwerable Defence of the *Revolutioners* againſt all that the Hiſtorian has alledged.

Let us now proceed to our Hiſtorian's Pourtrait of King *WILLIAM* in * Miniature.

"To sum up his Character in a few "Words: WILLIAM was a Fa-"talist in Religion, indefatigable "in War, enterprising in Politics, "dead to all the warm and gene-"rous

* I do not chuſe to quote here the *Detail* of the Character which the Hiſtorian gives King *WILLIAM*, becauſe the ſeveral Parts ſeem more properly referable to the correſpondent Members of this Summary.

" ROUS EMOTIONS OF THE HUMAN HEART,
" A COLD RELATION, AN INDIFFERENT
" HUSBAND, A DISAGREEABLE MAN, AN
" UNGRACIOUS PRINCE, AND AN IMPE-
" RIOUS SOVEREIGN." *Ub. ſup.* C. VI. § LXXI.

By A FATALIST IN RELIGION, every one in the common Uſe of Language means a Perſon who believes that " Men are *im-*
" *pelled* by a Principle which ſuperſedes all
" *Counſel* or *Exertion* of their Faculties." Conſequently, if *Religion* be, what ſeems on all hands allowed, THE WORSHIP OF THE DEITY, a *Fataliſt* can have no *Religion*; and, by the *improper* Expreſſion of the Hiſtorian, we muſt underſtand a Perſon whoſe Notions of *Fate* contradict *all Religion*. Such an one may indeed conform to the *Rites* of *Religion* in *Public* on ſolemn Occaſions, from political Views, but cannot be ſuppoſed to regard in *Private* what muſt appear to him *intirely uſeleſs* and *ſuperſtitious*. Much leſs will he, eſpecially if a Man of *ſtrong Senſe*, and *Courage* in other Reſpects, on any critical Occaſion, ſuch as the Engaging in a Battle likely to be attended with very important Conſequences, leaſt of all at the Approach of *Death* to a ſick Bed, employ himſelf in

De-

Devotions which he muſt eſteem *ridiculous*. In this laſt Caſe he can have no Motive to retain the Maſque of *Religion* if he ever wore it, eſpecially if he leave no Children, whoſe Happineſs may be affected by the Scandal ariſing from his Scorn of Devotion.

Now that King *WILLIAM* poſſeſſed a *very extraordinary Underſtanding*, Dr. *Smollett* confeſſes, when he ſays: "HIS NATURAL "SAGACITY MADE AMENDS FOR THE DE-"FECTS IN HIS EDUCATION." *Ub. ſup.* And that *WILLIAM* was courageous, we ſhall ſee the ſame Writer confeſs below. If then it ſhall further appear, from Aſſertions under the ſame Hand, that King *WILLIAM* acted on ſuch Occaſions as are abovementioned as a *Fataliſt* would *not act*, the firſt *Stroke* of the Character is proved *falſe*. But we are expreſsly told by the Dr. that before the famous Battle of *Landen* King *WILLIAM* "EARLY IN THE MORNING SENT "FOR HIS CHAPLAIN, WHOM HE JOYNED "IN PRAYER WITH GREAT DEVO-"TION." *Ub. ſup.* C. IV. § XX. Again, by the ſame Pen we are aſſured, that this Monarch in his laſt Sickneſs "RECEIVED "SPIRITUAL CONSOLATION FROM ARCH-"BISHOP TENISON, AND BURNET BISHOP

"OF

" OF SALISBURY. ON SUNDAY MORNING " THE SACRAMENT WAS ADMINISTERED " TO HIM." *Ub. ſup.* C. VI. § LXX. In the laſt Place, the Dr. allows, HE WAS RELIGIOUS. *Ub. ſup.* § LXXI †.

King

† *Voltaire* was ſo conſcious, that Acts of *Devotion* at the Approach of *Death*, would, by ſenſible Readers, be juſtly eſteemed inconſiſtent with that Diſregard of *Revelation*, with which he charges *WILLIAM*, that he roundly aſſerts, this prince paid not the leaſt regard to the Divines who attended him in his laſt Hours. See his *Siecle de Louis XIV.* *Fate* is become an odious Word, like *Hereſy*, and is thrown out at Random on thoſe Men we diſlike, though we can give no *tolerable* Account of the Notions which we charge on them by theſe Words.—Thus a Doctrine which has its Foundation in the Theory of the *Aſſociation of our Ideas* and of the *Determination* of *human Will* by the Motives of *apparent greater Good*, as taught by Mr. *Locke*, and further explained by that *Glory of human Nature*, Dr. *Hartley*, is branded with the Name of *Fataliſm*, though it implies both a *general* and *particular* Providence, the Reſult of the moſt perfect Council, and adapted to the reſpective Diſpoſitions of the Creatures, and only inconſiſtent with that *capricious Freedom* of Will, with which no man, I believe, finds himſelf endued. If this be *Fataliſm*, *WILLIAM* probably was a *Fataliſt*. Mr. *Echard*

King *WILLIAM* is in the next Place painted as INDEFATIGABLE IN WAR. So may

chard indeed, in his Hiſtory of the *Revolution*, ſays, that *WILLIAM* "*had ſtrong Notions of abſolute* "*Decrees and Predeſtination*," (P. 115) But to This much may juſtly be objected. In the firſt Place, Biſhop *Burnet*, who knew him much better than this Writer could do, tells us, that he was not a *rigid Calviniſt*. See *Hiſt. of his own Times*. In the next Place, nothing can be more inconſiſtent with true *Heroiſm* and *Benevolence* to *all* Mankind, than a Belief of *Predeſtination* according to the *rigid calviniſtical* Tenets, which repreſent God as an *arbitrary Being*, an *odious Tyrant*, who for the ſake of his *own Glory* condemns a great Part of his Subjects to *eternal Miſery*, without Regard to their *Actions*. The Belief of ſuch a God as this, has a Tendency to make a King a *Bajazet*, not a *Tamerlane*, though the latter Character is *generally allowed* well applied to *WILLIAM*. In the laſt Place, the two only Inſtances which I know alledged to prove *WILLIAM*'s Belief of Predeſtination, are ſuch as afford no Occaſion to conclude, that he diſallowed any thing which the moſt ſanguine Advocates for the *Freedom of human Will* contend for. One Inſtance is repreſented by Mr. *Echard* in the following Manner. "His Highneſs was more than "ordinary chearful [on landing at *Torbay*] and "taking Dr. *Burnet* by the Hand, he aſked him,

"If

may a Man be, and yet a *Coward*. The Imputation of which Character our Hiſtorian would gladly fix on this Prince; for he tells us, the King's Refuſal to *eat* or *drink* at *Oxford* "DID NOT SAVOUR MUCH OF MAGNA-"NIMITY." *Ub. ſup.* C. V. § XXII.

B It

"If he would now *believe Predeſtination*? He only "anſwered, that he would *never* forget that *Pro-*"*vidence* of God which had appeared ſo *ſignally* on "that Occaſion. And indeed there appeared "ſuch Characters of it, or ſuch Concurrences "of *Accidents* as were remarked by ſuch as had not "the leaſt Tincture of *Superſtition*." *Ibid.* p. 161. The other is much of the ſame Sort, and is related by almoſt every Hiſtorian of *WILLIAM*'s Life. In one of his Voyages to *Holland*, he was in imminent Danger of being ſhipwrecked, and ſeeing the Sailors afraid, animated them with the Conſideration of the Perſon they carried. Now in either Inſtance is no Relation to *human Will*, but *divine Power*; and the *Predeſtination* appears no more than a *ſpecial Providence* in a Subject deſerving its Intervention. After all the Cavils made againſt the Word *Fortune*, it appears, that in many Inſtances, nothing elſe was meant by the *Speakers* in ſeveral Languages, who uſed her ſeveral Names, than *divine Providence*! Thus *Cæſar*, on a ſimilar Occaſion to that of *WILLIAM* in the latter

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It might be ſufficient here to ſay, that many Inſtances make it moſt evident, *WILLIAM* was rather *too regardleſs* than *too regardful* of Life; therefore every *impartial* Judge will conclude, ſome Circumſtances unmentioned by the Hiſtorian attended the Receipt of that anonymous Letter, importing a Deſign to poiſon King *WILLIAM* at *Oxford*, which led him to conclude it would be Obſtinacy to run a *great* Riſque which he could *well* avoid. But Dr. *Smollett* renders *WILLIAM*'s Courage incontrovertible

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Inſtance, ſays: "*Cæſaris* Fortunam *vehis.*" *Cæſar* indeed was an *Epicurean*. But we know that Men do not act in common Life uſually in Agreement with *abſurd ſpeculative* Opinions. *G. Weſt*, Eſq; in a Note on one of *Pindar*'s Odes, juſtly obſerves, that *Heathens* by *Fortune* frequently meant *Providence*. To cloſe this Note on a very *intereſting* and *curious* Subject, let the learned Reader peruſe *Thourneyſis*'s Letter to Mr. *N. E.* on *Neceſſity*, and he will find, that this *rational* Philoſopher, though a Favourer of *Liberty* of *Will* in its greateſt Extent, expreſsly maintains, that the Notion of *interior Neceſſity*, all that is contended for in this Place, is very conſiſtent with *Morality* and *Religion*.—See *Le Nouveau Magaſin François, &c. pour le Mois Janvier* 1750, *à Londres*.

trovertible, when he ſays: "IN COURAGE, "FORTITUDE, AND EQUANIMITY, HE "RIVALLED THE MOST EMINENT WAR-"RIORS OF ANTIQUITY." *Ub. ſup.* C. VI. § LXXI. In particular, he tells us, this heroic Prince bore the Carrying off Part of his Cloaths, and even his Skin, by a Bullet, without the LEAST EMOTION. *Ub. ſup.* C. II. § XXVII. Again, he ſays, with Regard to the Battle of *Landen*, "it muſt be owned, "that King *WILLIAM* made *prodigious* "Efforts of *Courage* and *Activity* to retrieve "the *Fortune* of that Day. He was preſent "in *all* Parts of the Battle; he charged in "Perſon both *on Horſe-back* and *a-foot*, "where the *Danger* was *moſt imminent*. His "Peruke, the Sleeve of his Coat, and the "Knot of his Scarf were *penetrated* by three "different Muſquet Bullets." *Ub. ſup.* C. IV. § XX.

A Man may be INDEFATIGABLE and COURAGIOUS in War, yet a *contemptible Leader of Armies*, if he be not capable of laying down juſt Meaſures of Action on any Emergence. But Dr. *Smollett* aſſures us, "King *WILLIAM* continued a *reſpecta-*"*ble* Enemy by dint of *invincible Fortitude*, "and a GENIUS FRUITFUL IN RESOURCES."

Ub. ſup. C. III. § XXXII. The Reader ſhould be apprized, that this is ſaid immediately after Mention of the Defeat at *Steenkirk*, by the Treachery of Count *Solmes*, which would have utterly diſconcerted any General in King *WILLIAM*'s ſituation, not endued with amazing Preſence of *Genius*.

A Man may by INDEFATIGABLE, COURAGIOUS, and FRUITFUL OF RESOURCES IN WAR, yet *deteſtable*, becauſe CRUEL; as the Hiſtorian maintains *WILLIAM* to have been. Having given an high-painted Pourtrait of the Maſſacre at *Glencoe*, and a diſtinct Account of the *Parliamentary Inquiry* in *Scotland* about *all* its Circumſtances, he adds: "Notwithſtanding this Addreſs of the *Scotiſh* Parliament, by which the King was "ſo SOLEMNLY EXCULPATED *, his Me-"mory

* The Lords Commiſſioners, in their Report, ſay, that "the King's Inſtructions to Sir *T. Levington*, Commander of the Forces in *Scotland*, did indeed order and authorize Sir T. to march the Troops againſt the Rebels who had not taken the Benefit of the Indemnity, and to deſtroy them by Fire and Sword; which is the actual Stile of our Commiſſions againſt *intercommuned Rebels*; but with this *expreſs* Mitigation in the fourth Article, that

" mory is ſtill *loaded* with the Suſpicion of
" having *concerted*, *countenanced*, and *inforced*
" this *barbarous* Execution; eſpecially as
" the Maſter of *Stair* eſcaped *with Impunity*,
" and the other *Actors* of the *Tragedy*, far
" from being *puniſhed*, were *preferred* in his
" Service." *Ub. ſup.* C. IV. § VIII.

that the Rebels may not think themſelves *deſperate*, we allow you to give Terms and Quarter, but in this Manner only, that *Chieftains*, and *Heritors*, or *Leaders* be Priſoners of War, their Lives only ſafe, *&c.*" And in the Inſtructions which followed, on the 16th of *Jan.* 1692. " His majeſty doth judge it much better, that thoſe who took not the Benefit of the Indemnity in due time, ſhould be obliged to ſurrender *upon Mercy*, they ſtill taking the Oath of Allegiance; and it is added, if *Maclean* of *Glencoe*, and that Tribe, could be *well* ſeparated from the reſt, it would be a *proper* Vindication of the *public Juſtice* to extirpate that Seat of Thieves." The Maſter of *Stair* is ſaid to have exceeded theſe Inſtructions, becauſe his " Letters, without any *Inſinuation* of any Method to be taken, that might well *ſeparate* the *Glencoe* Men from the reſt, did in Place of preſcribing a *Vindication* of *public Juſtice*, order them to be cut off and *rooted out*." But to impartial Judgments it appears not how the Maſter of *Stair* could have *well ſeparated* the *Glencoe*-Men otherwiſe than by an Order to *cut them off*, and in ſo doing *vindicate public Juſtice*.

But by whom is *WILLIAM*'s Memory *loaded* with this Suſpicion? By *Papiſts*, *Jacobites*, and *Tories*; or at moſt by *moderate* men who have not carefully examined *all* the Circumſtances of the Acculation. Our Hiſtorian writes: "He [*WILLIAM*] "*pretended*, that he had ſubſcribed the Or-"der amidſt an Heap of other Papers, with-"out knowing the Purport of it." *Ub. ſup.* C. III. § XXI. But how appears it, that he ONLY PRETENDED this? Muſt it not frequently happen, that a King cannot *examine* the various Papers he ſigns, but *neceſſarily* relies on the Integrity of thoſe whom he employs? Is it not then much more likely ſuch an Hero, as *WILLIAM* appears in all other Reſpects, ſpeaks *Truth* on this Subject, than that he is guilty of *Falſehood* and *Cruelty*, the *characteriſtic* Vices of the *narroweſt* mind? But it is urged, that he did not *puniſh*, nay, he *preferred* the *Under-Actors* in this *Tragedy*. He could not *juſtly puniſh* them, if they *only* performed Orders; and if they deſerved Preferment on other Accounts, which Circumſtance is not denied, he gave it juſtly. The ſame may be ſaid of the Maſter of *Stair*, who might *merit Impunity*, if he only followed the Inſtructions tranſmitted

him.

from *England*. And the Contrary does not appear. In ſhort, according to the Hiſtorians's own Account, this Maſſacre is aſcribable to the *Fraud*, *Malice*, and *Revenge* of *Breidalbin*, who prevailed upon the *Scottiſh* Counſellors in *England*, to confirm his Account of the Head of this maſſacred Clan. However, Dr. *Smollett* gives an Account of this Matter more favourable to *WILLIAM*'s Character, than what the Hiſtorian has hitherto retailed. "He [*WILLIAM*] did not SEVERELY *puniſh* thoſe "who had made his Authority ſubſervient "to their own *cruel Revenge*," ſays the Dr. *Ub. ſup.* C. III. § XXI. So that the Queſtion is, "Was the Puniſhment ſevere "enough?" Now, till the Dr. tell us *preciſely* what it was, and what the Degree of Guilt of each, it is impoſſible to give a proper Anſwer. One obvious *Truth* ſhould be here noticed. The Exigencies of Government, eſpecially of *one* not yet well ſettled on the Ruins of *another*, are frequently ſuch, that the *wiſeſt* and *beſt* of Kings cannot either *reward* or *puniſh* to the Extent he wiſhes. As to the Maſter of *Stair*, the Dr. aſſures us, he did not ESCAPE WITH IMPUNITY, as the *Hiſtorian* has *poſitively affirmed*, but was by the

King diſmiſſed from his Employment of Secretary. (*Ub. ſup.*) And, unleſs our Hiſtorian can convince us, that it is no *Puniſhment* to loſe ſo profitable a Poſt as that of *Secretary of State*, we muſt think here is a *flagrant* Contradiction.

If then the Imputation of Cruelty ariſing from the Affair of *Glencoe*, has *ſtuck faſt* to King *WILLIAM*'s Character, it has moſt evidently been *fixed* by all the moſt malicious Artifices.

But a Man may be INDEFATIGABLE, COURAGIOUS, FRUITFUL IN RESOURCES IN WAR, NOT CRUEL, yet an *odious* General, if actuated by a Spirit of *falſe Ambition* and *Revenge*, as our Hiſtorian ſuppoſes *WILLIAM* to have been, and harangues on a Memorial preſented to him by the *Daniſh* Miniſter, in which it appeared, the *French* King would have been contented to purchaſe a Peace by ſome conſiderable Conceſſions, and then complains that "the Terms "were rejected by the King of *England*, "whoſe AMBITION and REVENGE remained "unſatiated." *Ub. ſup.* C. V. § LV.

Now if it appear from Dr. *Smollett*, that the Character of the Enemy King *WILLIAM* had to deal with, was ſuch, that he could

could never be depended on till he was *thoroughly humbled*, and that the Allies might have *humbled* him *thoroughly*, if they had been as resolute to pursue the War as *WILLIAM* was, then this *black Trait* in the Picture of *WILLIAM* must appear effected by *Malice*.

Let us hear the Dr. who having given an Account of the razing of *Heidelberg* by *de Lorges*, thus proceeds: "This General committed *numberless* Barbarities in the Palatinate, which he ravaged without even sparing the Tombs of the Dead. The *French* Soldiers, on this Occasion, seem to have been actuated by the *most brutal* Inhumanity. They butchered the Inhabitants, violated the Women, plundered the Houses, rifled the Churches, and murthered Priests at the altar! They broke open the *electoral Vault*, and scattered the Ashes of that *illustrious Family* about the Streets. They set Fire to different Quarters of the City; they stripped about fifteen thousand of the Inhabitants, without Distinction of Age or Sex, and drove them naked into the Castle, that the Garison might be sooner induced to capitulate. There they remained like Cattle in the open Air,

" Air, without Food or Covering, tortured " between the Horrors of their *Fate* and the " Terrors of a Bombardment. When they " were ſet at Liberty, in Conſequence of " the Fort's being ſurrendered, a great " Number of them died along the Banks of " the *Neckar*, from Cold, Hunger, An- " guiſh, and Deſpair. Theſe ENORMOUS " CRUELTIES, which would have *diſgraced* " the Arms of a *Tartarian* Free-Booter, " were acted by the *expreſs Command of* " *Lewis the Fourteenth* of *France*, who has " been celebrated by ſo many venal Pens, " not only as the *greateſt Monarch*, but alſo " the *moſt poliſhed* Prince of Chriſtendom." *Ub. ſup.* C. IV. §. XXII. What an excellent Comment is this on the Hiſtorian's Text, *viz.* " the LIBERALITY AND SENTI- " MENT PECULIAR TO THE HOUSE OF " BOURBON!" Such was the Foe of *WILLIAM*, and of *Europe*, according to Dr. *Smollett*, who declares, " Had the Al- " lies been *true* to one another, *&c. Lewis* " would in a few Campaigns have been re- " duced to the *moſt abject State* of Diſgrace, " Deſpondence and Submiſſion; for he was " deſtitute of TRUE COURAGE and MAGNA- " NIMITY." *Ub. ſup.* Ch. V. §. LV. Again,

gain, he exclaims: "This Opportunity of "*humbling France* was *fatally* loft by the "Diſſention in the allied Army, &c." *Ub. ſup.* C. III. §. XXXVI.

How ſtrong *WILLIAM*'s Reſolution was to humble this deteſtable Foe of *human Kind*, let us hear from Dr. *Smollett*: "His Health "daily declined; but he concealed the De- "cay of his Conſtitution, that his Allies "might not be diſcouraged from engaging "in a Confederacy, of which he was deemed "the *Head* and *chief Support*." *Ub. ſup.* C. VI. §. LV. Again: "He told the "Earl of *Portland*, he found himſelf ſo "weak, that he could not expect to live "another Summer, but charged him to "conceal this Circumſtance, until he ſhould "be dead. Notwithſtanding this near Ap- "proach to Diſſolution, he exerted himſelf "with ſurprizing Diligence and Spirit in "eſtabliſhing the Confederacy." *Ub. ſup.* §. LXI.

Here Dr. *Smollett* is *indeed* a Panegyriſt. This is the true Portrait of a *Chriſtian* Hero, who extends his Care of his Subjects far be- yond the Limits of his own Life, and looks for his Crown of *Glory* in that better Country far beyond the Grave!

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In the next Place, king *WILLIAM* is repreſented as ENTERPRISING IN POLITICS; which a Man may be, and yet *ridiculous*, if he underſtand not the *general* Principles of the *Science* (for ſuch, I apprehend, Mr. *Hume* has incontrovertibly ſhewn *Politics* to be) or *diſtinctly perceive* and *ſteadily purſue* the *particular* Intereſts of that Country in whoſe Councils he ſits. But Dr. *Smollett* maintains, that *WILLIAM* perfectly comprehended both the *general* Principles of *Policy*, and the *particular* Conſtitution of his Country, when he made that juſtly-famous Speech to the States-general, on the very Brink of Ruin, in *One thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-two*; (ſee *him* and other Hiſtorians on this Year) and that he *ſteadily* purſued their Intereſts, inſomuch that he refuſed the Crown of the Seven United Provinces, though to be guaranteed both by *France* and *England*, if he would have ſold their Liberties at this Price; (ſee *him* and other Hiſtorians on this Year) and on the whole, that "he aſpired to the "Honour of acting as Umpire in all the "Conteſts of *Europe*; and the *ſecond* Object "of his Attention was the Proſperity of the "Country to which he owed his *Birth* and "*Extraction*." B. VIII. C. VI. §. LXXI.

Now

Now, in order to acquit Dr. *Smollett* of all Suſpicion of *Tautology*, we might reaſonably enough ſuppoſe him to mean ſomewhat of Difference betwixt *Birth* and *Extraction*, and naturally enough interpret *Birth* to relate to *Holland*, and *Extraction* to *England*, whence his royal Mother came. But whether or no Dr. *Smollett* intended ſuch Accuracy, it is certain, that the Intereſts of *Holland* cannot be maintained *inconſiſtently* with thoſe of *England*. We may ſeem Rivals in Trade; but Trade, beyond a certain * Limit, is ſo far from being a *Bleſſing*, that it is a *Curſe* to a Nation; and the Safety of *Holland* from thoſe encroaching Neighbours *France* and *Auſtria*, muſt probably ariſe from the Aſſiſtance of her *natural* Ally *Great-Britain*. This Connexion *WILLIAM* perfectly underſtood, as appears from the whole Tenor of his Conduct †.

We

* On this Head ſee the reſpectable Author of the *Eſtimate* of the *Principles* and *Manners* of the *preſent Age*.

† "He *perfectly* united *England* and *Holland*, "two inveterate Rivals in Trade; and by teach- "ing them to promote their mutual Intereſts, has "left an effectual Barrier to check the formidable "and

We have here then the nobleſt Ends of of *Politics* propoſed and purſued by *WILLIAM*, namely, in the *firſt* Place, the *general Weal* of *Europe*; in the *next*, the Proſperity of the *particular* Countries over which he preſided! †

But a Man may be ENTERPRISING in POLITICS, and lay down the BEST ENDS, yet

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" and over-grown Power of *France*." See the Life of King *William*, Vol. III. p. 518.

† Mr. *Ralph* aſſerts, " There is no one Grie-" vance in the whole Courſe of the King's " [*JAMES* the IId's] Reign that is *more fla-*" *grant* than the Prince of *Orange*'s *Ambition*; and " to do Juſtice, if we admit, as we ought, that " the People had *ſufficient* Reaſon to call upon him " for his Aſſiſtance, we muſt admit likewiſe, that " he heard them *for his own Sake*, and that he re-" ſolved to be *paid his own Price* for his Trouble." Vol. I. p. 1058. This is a *very bold* and *dogmatical* Aſſertion, and if unſupported by *clear inconteſtable* Facts, muſt make the Writer appear *virulent beyond Excuſe* to every impartial Reader. Let us then examine *briefly* what he advances in Support of this Accuſation. The Firſt Point relies on the Authority of Biſhop *Burnet*, *viz.* that the Prince approved of his Anſwer to the Marquiſs of *Halifax*, *viz.* " that the King's *going away* was the Thing " they wiſhed." Now it is *obvious* to remark, that

yet become *execrable* by employing EVIL MEANS; and our Hiſtorian aſſures us, King

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that the expreſſion GOING AWAY, is very *indeterminate*, and might mean no more than his *going away* from *London* to ſome Place at a good Diſtance thence, though in the *Kingdom*. The Prince had propoſed, that, if the King ſtaid in *London*, himſelf, with an equal Number of Forces, ſhould be there too; but if the King choſe any other Place, the Prince ſhould be at an equal Diſtance from the *Metropolis*; plainly, that the Parliament might be under no undue Influence. The Prince therefore may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have apprehended, that the Parliament would be *more free*, and the City in leſs Danger of Tumults, if both the King and he were at a Diſtance, and therefore he might approve the King's going away from *London*. As to the next Point, our Hiſtorian aſſerts *roundly*, "though his Highneſs *pretended to treat*, his *real* "*Purpoſe* was, if poſſible, to *drive* the King out of the "Land, in order to make the Stage clear for himſelf." p. 1058. But how does he ſupport his Aſſertion? He affirms, "He [*The A M E S*] might "have proved, that the Prince had already *violated* "his own Declaration, by *riſing* in thoſe Demands, and inſiſting, even by way of Preliminary, to have the *better Half* of his Power and "Prerogative." p. 1059. What our Hiſtorian means by *riſing* in his *Demands*, &c. he elſewhere ex-

King *WILLIAM* employed PERNICIOUS ones with reſpect to the Nation which had ele-

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explains in the following Manner. " They [the " Prince's Terms] made it as *plain* as *poſſible*, that " a free Parliament was not the *ſole Object* which " the Prince had in View, whatever he had ſo *ſo-* " *lemnly pretended.*" p. 1057. Now, in order to ſee that there is not the *leaſt Appearance* of *Truth* in this Aſſertion, it is only neceſſary to caſt our Eyes upon the Terms which the Prince gave in Anſwer to the King's Commiſſioners, and which Mr. *Ralph* has printed in the laſt-quoted Page, and we ſhall ſee moſt clearly, that there is not *one* of them which was not *eſſentially neceſſary* to the Prince's one great Demand, *viz.* of a *free Parliament*——— I will not content myſelf with Aſſertions in a Matter even ſo plain as this; I will not imitate the Manner of this *dictatorial* Hiſtorian. That the Preſence of the Prince and his Army was neceſſary to ſecure a *free* Parliament no *impartial* Perſon can doubt, at leaſt Mr. *Ralph* cannot, who has above declared, that the people had *ſufficient* Reaſon to call in this Aſſiſtance. Now to have the Aſſiſtance of this Army, it was neceſſary it ſhould be as near the Parliament as the King's, *viz.* thirty Miles. This is Part of the fourth Demand. It was neceſſary that the Prince himſelf, with an equal Number of Guards, ſhould be as near it as the King. This is the other Part of the fourth Demand.———

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elevated him to a Throne, and UNJUST ones with Regard to the Nations he feared.

It was neceſſary, that a *ſufficient* Part of the Revenue ſhould be aſſigned for the Maintenance of this Army. This is the ſeventh Demand. In order that the Friends of the *Conſtitution* might not be diſcouraged; but the Parliament *truly free*, it was neceſſary that all Proclamations reflecting on the Prince and his Friends, ſhould be recalled, and any of thoſe Friends, if impriſoned, releaſed. This is the ſecond Demand. *London* being (in *Effect* though not *Name*) the Seat of the Parliament, it was neceſſary that it ſhould not be over-awed by the King's Governor of the *Tower*, but this delivered to the City, in order that the Parliament might be free. This was the third Demand. And as the ſame Reaſon held good with Reſpect to *Tilbury-Fort*, for its Delivery to the City, was the fifth Demand. The *Papiſts* at home, and the *French* abroad, were the Enemies, from whoſe Aid to *JAMES*, *Great-Britain* juſtly dreaded her Ruin, when ſhe had ſufficient Reaſon to call in the Prince's Aſſiſtance. To diſarm the *former*, as diſqualified by Law to bear Arms, was the firſt Demand made. To prevent the Landing of the *latter*, that *Portſmouth* ſhould be put into ſuch Hands as the King and Prince agreed upon, was the ſixth Demand.———Now on the Suppoſition, that the Prince *only* intended what in his *Declaration* he propoſed,

As to the *former* Sort, the Dr. tells us, *WILLIAM* "ſcrupled not to employ *all* the

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poſed, no more moderate terms could have been aſked; and nothing but the moſt wayward *Perveſeneſs* or *Malice* could hence conclude, that the Prince wanted to *drive* the King out of the *Land*, and poſſeſs his Crown. Well may we ſuppoſe true what biſhop *Burnet* aſſerts, *viz.* that the Lords Commiſſioners ſeemed very well ſatisfied with the Terms the Prince gave, and that the King declared them better than he expected. If he really expected any thing leſs than to be *abſolutely allowed* to carry on his tyrannical Schemes, he muſt think them good. The next point our Hiſtorian inſiſts on, is the Prince's Order to the King's army to *keep together*. "It is *flagrantly obvious* (ſays he) that the "Prince here acts in the Capacity of a *Conqueror*, "and preſcribes Laws to the Military at leaſt, who "had neither made any ſubmiſſion to him, nor "over whom he had received any Authority; as "alſo that he breaks in upon the Adminiſtration "of the Lords ſitting at *White-Hall*; and that af"ter exacting Obedience from Men *born free*, and "now diſcharged by their Prince, he leaves them "as he found them, to be *ſubſiſted* by the *People*; "and what renders this *notable* Exertion of Power "in ſuch *abſolute* Terms, ſo much the *more extraordinary*, it was not till the next Day that the "ſeveral Deputies from the Lords, *&c.* came to "him

the Engines of *Corruption*, by which the Morals of the Nation were TOTALLY DE-

 BAUCHED

" him with their ſeveral Tenders." P. 1064, 1065. Whether extreme *Ignorance* or *Malevolence* be the cauſe of this *injurious* Flow of Slander, I will not determine; but one of them muſt. The Prince came with an Army to ſave the Liberties of *Great-Britain*. He was to oppoſe any Army on Foot to deſtroy theſe Liberties. The King deſerts his Kingdom. The General ſends the Prince Word, he has diſbanded his Forces. Great Danger threats the Nation from this Diſbanding. Now in Conſequence of his *general Invitation* merely, the Prince was authorized to do all he could to prevent this and every Danger to the Nation he came to deliver. Accordingly he iſſues his Declaration to command the Officers to *keep together* their Soldiers, who by their *military Oath* were obliged to keep the *public Peace* to the utmoſt of their Power, and by the *Deſertion* of the King could not be authorized to prey on the *Public*. The Prince has not money to pay theſe Forces *immediately*, but procures it as *ſoon* as poſſible. In the mean Time the *Keeping the Forces together* in *regular* Quarters is repreſented by our *candid* Hiſtorian as the ſame Thing as *Leaving them to free Quarter* over the Nation; and the taking Care to preſerve the *unarmed People* from the *Violence* of a *diſbanded Army*, is called *acting* the Part of a *Conqueror!* It is pretended that this

BAUCHED. He procured a parliamentary Sanction for a *ſtanding* Army, which now ſeems

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this *arbitrary* Conduct is rendered more *odious* by the Prince's not having received the Tender of the *Adminiſtration*, though it appears implied in his *general Invitation*. And in this Accuſation is *ſtudiouſly avoided* all Mention of the Addreſs which the Prince had already received from the Lords *ſpiritual* and *temporal*, who promiſed to *aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their Power*, and of another from the *principal Officers*, promiſing to aſſiſt in keeping the public Peace. (See this very Hiſtorian, p. 1061 1062.) So that if the Prince had not been authoriſed by the *general Invitation* made to him before he landed, and the Nature of his Undertaking, he would have been ſo by theſe Addreſſes. But our Hiſtorian proceeds to enumerate the Prince's Order to the Secretary at War, to bring an Account of the King's Army, the Command to Lord *Churchill* to re-aſſemble his Troop of Horſe-Guards, and to the Duke of Grafton with his Regiment of Foot-Guards to ſeize *Tilbury-Fort*. The firſt of theſe Inſtances was certainly neceſſary to preſerve public Peace, for the Reaſons above given; and if a Prince may not command thoſe Officers who have *willingly ſubmitted* to his Directions, to do what is neceſſary to carry into Effect a *lawful* Deſign, (the Deliverance of a Nation from Tyranny) there is an End of all *Politics!*

ſeems interwoven in the Conſtitution. He introduced the *pernicious* Practice of borrow-

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Politics! Theſe are Acts of *Sovereignty* in Mr. *Ralph's* State of Things. But the Elegance of Expreſſion, when he talks of the King's *dropping* the *imperial Mantle*, and the Prince's *taking it up*, and *arraying* himſelf in the *Spoils* of the *Throne*, will not atone for the Injuſtice of them.—As to the Behaviour of the *Prince* towards the *King* after his Return to *White-Hall*, Biſhop *Burnet* ſufficiently defends him. The *whole Council* at *Windſor* had determined that "the Prince ought *to ſtick to the* "*King's Deſertion*;" conſequently not to treat him as *Sovereign* any longer, not to regard *White-Hall* as his Palace, only to *preſerve* his *Perſon* from *Violence*, till a Parliament ſhould determine about his *Cauſe*. The Council *rightly* judged that when *JAMES* had ſo *ſcandalouſly* broke off a fair Treaty, and *deſerted* his Kingdom to all the Evils of *Anarchy*, rather than give up his *Popiſh* Counſellors, he was no longer to be treated with.

The laſt Paſſage alledged by Mr. *Ralph*, to juſtify his Accuſation of the Prince, is a very extraordinary one. Biſhop *Burnet* explains the bad conſequences of the Lawyer's Advice to the Prince to *aſſume* the Crown, and thus explains himſelf: "If inſtead of STAYING till the Nation ſhould "offer him the Crown, he ſhould aſſume it as a "Conqueſt;" then adds, "theſe Reaſons determined

ing upon *remote* Funds, an Expedient that *neceſſarily* hatched a Brood of Uſurers, &c.

He

" mined the Prince againſt that Propoſition."—Now ſince 'tis moſt evident that the Circumſtance of STAYING till the Crown was *offered*, made no Part of any of the Reaſons which determined the Prince to reject the Advice, 'tis amazing Mr. *Ralph* ſhould exclaim, " We have here an Acknowledg-" ment that the Crown was the *great Object* of the " Prince's Purſuit, and that when he even refuſed " to ſeize it in Compliance with this ſtrange Ad-" vice, it was in Expectation of being *gratified* " with it in a leſs *exceptionable* and leſs *hazardous* " Way." P. 1074. This is *political Chymiſtry* indeed, to extract out of an Advice to a Prince, " not to *aſſume* a Crown, but *ſtay* till it be *offered*," " a Proof that " the Prince made the Crown the " great Object of his Purſuit."—A plain Reaſoner would have thought it very poſſible that the Adviſer might be miſtaken as much about the Prince's Eagerneſs to *accept* the Crown *when offered*, as others were about his *aſſuming* it *unoffered*. A Man ſurely may *ſtay* till a Thing is *offered*, and yet not *accept* it; and though the Prince of *Orange* accepted the Crown of *England* when *offered*, it by no Means follows that it was the *great Object* of his Purſuit. Mr. *Ralph* blames his Highneſs for diſappointing the King's Commiſſioners of the firſt-appointed Rendezvous, of ſending Commiſſioners to treat with them,

He *intailed* upon the Nation a *growing* Debt," *&c. Ub. ſup.* C. VI. §. LXXI.

C 4 Now

them, of making Lord *Clarendon* one of his Commiſſioners, as being a Foe to *Halifax*, one of the King's, and unexperienced *Oxford* another; for ſending the *Engliſh* Lords to deſire the King to retire from *White-Hall*, and for putting *Dutch* Guards upon him. As to the firſt Point, every one muſt know, that a Perſon ſo engaged as the Prince was, in a Variety of important Affairs, might find it impoſſible to keep his firſt Appointment, and an impartial Examiner will rather think an *Affront* was here *ſtudiouſly ſought* for by the Partizans of *JAMES*, than intended by *WILLIAM*. Such an Inquirer will alſo judge that a *Sovereign Independent* Prince engaged with another in a lawful War, *affronts* him not by appointing Commiſſioners to treat with his Commiſſioners. The Prince muſt chooſe his Commiſſioners out of the *Engliſh*, ſince the Matters in Debate regarded them; conſequently *thoſe* who had left the King's ſervice; and perhaps *as great* or *greater* Objections would have been found to any Perſons of Conſequence whom he could have choſe, as are made to *Clarendon* and *Oxford*; eſpecially as the Commiſſioners had *only* Propoſals to *give* and *receive*, and no Objection could even plauſibly be made to *Shrewſbury*, who carried his Anſwer with the other two. Nothing can be more groundleſs than

Mr.

Now, if it ſhall appear from the *expreſs* Acknowledgments of Dr. *Smollett*, that *Papiſts*,

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Mr. *Ralph*'s Complaint, that *Engliſhmen* and not the *Bentinks* and *Zuyleſteins* were employed to carry the Prince's Meſſage to the King at *White-Hall*. As this Meſſage was the Reſult of a Council at *Windſor*, it was proper ſome of the Council ſhould carry it, and not the Prince's *immediate Dependents*. On the contrary, the King's own Guards might have created *Tumults* and *Oppoſitions*, had they continued to attend their Maſter, whereas the *Dutch* Guards would anſwer all the Purpoſes of preſerving him from *Violence*; and ſince he was ſuffered to go whither he would, he could not *juſtly* be ſtiled a *Priſoner*. In ſhort, *JAMES* had actually *abdicated* his *Crown*; and the Prince, who, at the Requeſt of the Nobility, &c. had aſſumed the Care of *public Peace*, could no longer conſider him as *King*. He would have acted inconſiſtently with his Truſt, had he treated his *Father-in-law* with *Ceremony* dangerous to public Weal. Mr. *Ralph* himſelf ſays, That Matters were arrived at that Pitch, Ceremonies were no longer to be obſerved. Another *invidious* Obſervation of Mr. *Ralph*'s is founded on an Expreſſion of Dr. *Burnet*, who tells us, that the People of *Holland* ſaw, that, in order to prevent *Louis*'s becoming an *univerſal Monarch*, "it was "*neceſſary* to take *England* out of the Hands of a "Prince, who was ſuch a firm Ally to *France*."

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pists, *Jacobites*, and *Tories*, nay, *disgusted Whigs* too, formed so strong an Opposition to

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Now in the first Place, the Expression may import no more than the Necessity of *restraining* the arbitrary Powers which *JAMES* had *assumed* contrary to Law. Secondly, if they meant *actually* to *depose* him, it does not follow that they intended to place the Prince of *Orange* in his Stead. Thirdly, whatever the Populace of *Holland* intended, the Prince of *Orange* is not answerable. This Historian declaims much against the Prince of *Orange* for not *publickly disavowing* the third Declaration set forth in his Name, and accuses him of *countenancing* this Usurpation of the *kingly Office*, P. 1052. Now every body knows, that the third Declaration was designed to *disarm* the *Papists*, who by *Law* could not bear Arms, but were not only connived at in *bearing them*, but *actually armed* by *JAMES*. To restore Force to the Laws, and by *Arms* to *compel* those who opposed them, to submit to Laws, was the avowed and *justifiable* Design of the Prince of Orange. The Magistrates were obliged by Oath to do their utmost to *disarm* these open Opposers of Laws, and by neglecting so to do, became *public Enemies*. A *Declaration* therefore to oblige the Magistrates to do their Duty in this Instance, was *most plainly* no Usurpation of the *kingly Office*, but necessarily implied in the Idea of that *illustrious Character* of one who came a *lawful Auxiliary* to a People

to King *WILLIAM*'s Government, that without theſe Meaſures its whole Frame muſt have

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People upon the Brink of Ruin from a Perſon who, though yet poſſeſſed of the Enſigns of *kingly Power*, was *in Reality a Tyrant*, and *virtually* had *deſpoiled* himſelf of all Right to Obedience. There is a Paſſage of Dr. *Burnet* which Mr. *Ralph* cites without any Hint of a Diſbelief of its Truth, which ſhews that the Deſign of the Prince of *Orange* was not to aſcend the Throne of *England* himſelf, but to perſuade *JAMES* to purſue his own Intereſts and thoſe of *Europe* together. We are told expreſsly, that Mr. *Dykvelt* was ſent over hither "to "ſee if it was POSSIBLE to bring him [*JAMES*] "to a better *Underſtanding* with the Prince."— Mr. *Ralph* is very angry with *all* our Hiſtorians for ſuppreſſing that Part of the Declaration of the States, in which they ſet forth the Prince's Proteſtations "that he had not the leaſt Intention— "to *remove the King from his Throne*, much leſs to "make *himſelf Maſter* thereof," *&c.* But ſince they *all* allow that the Prince made theſe Proteſtations, there was no Occaſion to cite the whole of the Declaration of the States. To conclude; the Prince of *Orange* ſaid on an intereſting Occaſion, "Whatever others might think, a Crown was not "of great Importance to Happineſs in his Eſtimate "of Things." And thoſe who diſtruſt his *ſolemn Proteſtations* that he came with no *formed* Deſign

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have been diſſolved, and the Nation thrown again into that Abyſs of *civil* and *religious* Ty-

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on the Crown of *England*, will, to impartial Perſons, appear poſſeſſed of little of that *Magnanimity*, of which they would invidiouſly rob him.—The Truth of the Caſe ſeems this: The Prince of *Orange* knew that the Liberties of *Europe* could not be ſupported, unleſs *Great-Britain* vigorouſly aſſiſted the *States* and their Allies againſt *France*. He declared, he thought a Crown no-wiſe *eſſential* to his Happineſs, and a Perſon of half his *Penetration* muſt ſee the Difficulties and Oppoſitions he would find, if he mounted the Throne of *England*. It is therefore moſt probable, that he would have been well content to leave his Father-in-law on that Throne, if a free Parliament could have *reſtrained* him from *hurting* the Intereſts of *Europe*, and engaged him in a *ſtrict* League with the States. But when he ſaw, that the King was reſolved to run any Lengths rather than give up his pernicious Counſellors and Allies; conſequently, that he could no longer be *ſuffered* on the Throne, and that no Body but the Prince *himſelf* was able to keep that *dangerous Station*, he entertained *ſerious* Thoughts of the Crown. I will *ingenuouſly* confeſs, it appears to me that the Prince, and the moſt judicious of his Party, muſt have thought it *improbable* that the *King* would give the Parliament any *ſufficient Security* for his acting according to Law for the future; and there-

fore

Tyranny, whence he had ſo lately delivered it; ſince * " The People's Weal is the great " Aim of all Laws," and, " Of two Evils " the leſs is to be choſe," it follows, that we ſhould not eſteem King *WILLIAM*, but the Partiſans above-mentioned, the true Authors of them.

The Dr. Remaks, that, " the Prince of " *Orange* had been invited to *England* by a " Coalition of Parties, united by a common " Senſe of Danger; but the Tie was no " ſooner broken, than they flew aſunder, " and each reſumed its original Biaſs. Their " mutual

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fore muſt have judged it probable, that the Prince himſelf would wear the Crown. But it follows not by any Means hence, that the Prince was *impatient to king it*, as Mr. *Raph* indecently expreſſes himſelf.—I cannot help taking Notice of a *moſt invidious* Suggeſtion of this Hiſtorian. Having obſerved that *Argyle*, at his Execution in the firſt Year of *JAMES* the ſecond, prayed, " that there " might never be wanting *one* of the royal Family " to defend *Proteſtantiſm*," he endeavours (though vainly) to prove, that by this *one* muſt be meant the Prince of *Orange*, and then adds, " As to the " Inferences deducible from hence, it is fit every " Reader ſhould make them for himſelf." P. 871.

* *Salus Populi ſuprema Lex.*

" mutual Jealouſies and Rancour revived,
" and was heated by Diſpute into intempe-
" rate *Zeal* and *Enthuſiaſm*. As he had been
" bred a *Calviniſt*, and *always* expreſſed an
" Abhorrence of *ſpiritual Perſecution*, the
" Proteſtant Diſſenters conſidered him as
" their *peculiar* Protector, *&c.* For the
" ſame Reaſons the Friends of the Church
" became jealous of his Proceedings, and
" employed all their Influence, firſt in
" oppoſing his Elevation to the Throne,
" and afterwards in thwarting his Meaſures.
" Their Party was eſpouſed by all the
" Friends of the *lineal Succeſſion*; by the *Ro-*
" *man* Catholics; by thoſe who were *per-*
" *ſonally* attached to the late King; by ſuch
" as were diſguſted by the Conduct of
" *WILLIAM*, &c. Theſe were the
" *Sources* of Diſcontent *ſwelled up* by the
" Reſentment of ſome Noblemen and other
" Individuals diſappointed in their Hopes of
" *Profit* and *Preferment*." *Ub. ſup.* C. I.
§. I.

When the Body of *WILLIAM*'s Oppo-
nents appears thus formidable, any impartial
Eye diſcerns the *Neceſſity* and *Difficulty* of
ſpeedily raiſing Money, and the Wiſdom of
making it the *immediate* Intereſt of thoſe who

would

would not or *could not* ſee it their ultimate, to become *Creditors* and therefore *Friends* to the *new* Government †.

The

† That *violent* and *abject* Tool of a *Jacobite* Miniſtry, Dr. *Swift*, a Man who very prudently *abſconded* in Conſequence of the Interception of a Packet of *treaſonable* Letters directed to him, (as Dr. *Smollett* informs us) makes the following good Apology for the Conduct of King *WILLIAM* and his *Whig* Miniſtry on this Head. "The King and his "Counſellors thought it would be ill Policy to "commence his Reign with heavy Taxes upon "his People, *&c.* The Biſhop of *Salisbury* is ſaid "to have found out that Expedient (which he had "learned in *Holland*) of raiſing Money upon the "Security of Taxes that were *only* ſufficient to pay "a *large* Intereſt. The Motives which prevailed "upon People to fall in with this Project were "*many*, and *plauſible*; for ſuppoſing, as the Mini-"ſters *induſtriouſly* gave out, that the War could "not laſt above *one* or *two* Campaigns at moſt, it "might be carried on with *very moderate* Taxes, "and the Debts occurring would, in proceſs of "Time, be eaſily cleared after a Peace. Then "the Bait of *large* Intereſt would draw in a great "Number of thoſe, whoſe Money, by the *Dan-"gers* and Difficulties of Trade, lay *dead* upon "their Hands, *&c.* Beſides, the Men of Eſtates "could not be perſuaded, without *Time* and *Dif-*

"*ficulty*,

The Dr. obſerves: " He [*WILLIAM*] " could not bear the Thought of being a " KING

" *faculty*, to have thoſe Taxes laid on their Lands, " which *Cuſtom* has ſince made ſo familiar." *&c.* See *The Hiſtory of the four laſt Years of Queen Anne*, &c. p. 157, *&c.* It appears hence, that this Practice was *reaſonable* in its *Inſtitution* among us. This *partial* Writer, however, *invidiouſly* ſuppoſes, that King *WILLIAM* was leſs *regardful* of the *public Weal* on this Head, becauſe he had no Children. *Ub. ſup.* Now in the firſt Place, it can never be proved, that King *WILLIAM knew* he ſhould have no Children, and therefore he might be ſuppoſed influenced by Regard to *them* at the Time in Queſtion. In the next Place, Minds of an *humbler Form* may need that Attachment to Children which is very likely to keep them true to what they eſteem the Intereſt of their Country; but the Caſe is different with Regard to Minds ſo extraordinary as that of *WILLIAM*, who doubtleſs thought, like Q. *Elizabeth*, that his *Subjects* were his *Children*. In the laſt Place, would not Dr. *Swift* have thought it a great Injury, if his Adverſaries had ſuppoſed that he was leſs a *Patriot* becauſe *childleſs*? It is remarkable, that at the very Time when the Author of *The complete Hiſtory of England* throws ſo much Abuſe on the *Revolution*, King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, &c. the poſthumous Hiſtory of *Swift* appears, in which

the

" KING WITHOUT POWER: He could not " without Reluctance diſmiſs thoſe Officers, " who had given ſo many Proofs of their " *Courage* and *Fidelity*. He did not think " himſelf SAFE upon the NAKED Throne; " in a Kingdom that SWARMED with Male-" contents, who had ſo OFTEN conſpired " againſt his PERSON and GOVERNMENT. " He dreaded the AMBITION and KNOWN " PERFIDY of the *French* King, who ſtill " retained a POWERFUL ARMY." *Ub. ſup.* C. VI. §. I.

Such a *ſtrong* and *juſt* Repreſentation of *unanſwerable* Arguments for a *ſtanding* Army in *WILLIAM*'s Reign, ſhews our Hiſtorian loſt to all Senſe of Shame, when he aſſerts, that the *Whigs* " IMPUDENTLY A-" VOWED,

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the ſame Abuſe is *liberally* beſtowed on all the great *patriot Miniſters* of our *Deliverer*. The Dean appears to me A POET WITHOUT DELICACY, A POLITICIAN WITHOUT REGARD TO THE NATURAL RIGHTS OF MANKIND, AN HISTORIAN WITHOUT TRUTH AND CANDOR, AND A DIVINE WITHOUT REASON. For the *firſt* Part of this Character, I refer to his *Miſcellanies in verſe paſſim*; for the *ſecond*, to the *Examiner*; for the *third*, to his Hiſtory of the four laſt Years of Queen *Anne*; for the *laſt*, to his *poſthumous* ſermons, *&c.*

"VOWED, that their Complaiſance to the "Court in this Particular [a *ſtanding Army*] "was owing to their Deſire of excluding "from *all* Share of the Adminiſtration, a "FACTION DISSAFFECTED to his Majeſty; "which might miſlead him into MORE PER-"NICIOUS Meaſures." *ibid.* To condemn Men of IMPUDENCE, for *avowing* that they prefer what they think a *better* Meaſure to *worſe*, is ſurely to be guilty of the Charge brought againſt them; eſpecially, when the Perſon who brings it, ſhews *irrefragably* that the *better* Meaſure was an *abſolutely neceſſary* one *.

* No one can be *more ſenſible* of the Danger and Burthen of a *Standing-Army* than I am: Yet, till we can effect a very large and well-diſciplined *Militia*, which (all Things conſidered) I rather *wiſh* than *hope*, it ſeems a *neceſſary Danger* and *Burthen*. It is amazing, that ſo *judicious* an Hiſtorian as Mr. *Ralph*, ſhould cite a very long Paſſage from *L'Eſtrange*, to prove that our ancient Kings had no *ſtanding Army*, as though this Point was any wiſe to the Purpoſe with Regard to a *ſtanding Army* even in *Charles* the 2d's Time, when both *Spain* and *France* had great Forces on foot, and the Power of thoſe Crowns had, as Chancellor *Hyde* well obſerves

Dr. *Smollett* will, in the next Place, teach us, how *Jacobites* and *Tories* were *doubly* the Authors of that Corruption of which the Hiſtorian complains; as they *neceſſitated* * the Government to *employ*, and then themſelves *actually* firſt *exerciſed* it in *WILLIAM's* Reign.

He obſerves, "*WILLIAM* finding there "was *no other* Way of maintaining his Ad- "miniſtration in Peace, thought proper to "*countenance* the Practice of purchaſing "Votes, and appointed *Trevor* firſt Com- "miſſioner of the Great Seal." *Ub. ſup.* C. II. §. XXII. Having characteriſed this Gentleman as a violent Partiſan of the *Tories*, he adds: "He was a *bold*, *artful* Man, and "undertook to procure a Majority to be at "the *Devotion* of the Court, provided he "ſhould be ſupplied with the *neceſſary* Sums "for the Purpoſes of Corruption."

After

ſerves, made the Expence of *England* neceſſarily much greater than it would otherwiſe have been. See *Ralph*, on the Years 1661 and 1662, p. 48 and 64.

* It gives me Pleaſure to find myſelf confirmed in this Sentiment by ſo *reſpectable* a Writer as the Author of *The Eſtimate of the Manners of the preſent Age*.

After all that can be ſaid on this Subject, when the Meaſures of a *King* or *Miniſter manifeſtly* tend to public Weal, he who purchaſes the Votes of Members of Parliament to carry them into Execution, only *pays for doing* what ſhould *be done without Pay*. Corruption is *already* advanced to great Strength, when Men *need* a *Bribe* to do their Duty. And when the Hiſtorian aſcribes the Debauchery of the People's Morals to the Method of purchaſing Votes, he is *contradicted* juſtly by Dr. *Smollett*, who gives the following Account of an Event which preceded this Kind of Traffic in *WILLIAM*'s Reign. Having told us, a great Part of the Clergy took the Oaths to the Government with *Diſtinctions* and *Reſervations*, he adds, " Nothing " could be *more infamous* or of *worſe Ten-* " *dency* than this Practice of equivocating " in the *moſt ſacred* of all Obligations. It " *introduced* a *general* Diſregard of Oaths, " which hath been the *Source* of *univerſal* " *Perjury* and *Corruption*." *Ub. ſup.* §. VIII.

There can remain no Doubt, when the Teachers of *Religion* make ſuch a Jeſt of it, as to *proſtiſtute* its *moſt tremendous* Sanctions to the *Acquiſition* or *Preſervation* of a paultry

Emolument, their Example muſt have the worſt Conſequence on the Multitude.

I am ſorry to have Occaſion to paſs this *ſevere Sentence* on any of my own Profeſſion; but I am obliged ſo to do by the Importance of the Subject, eſpecially as I am told it is a common Practice in ſome Counties for Clergymen of the *eſtabliſhed Church* to live in the open Profeſſion of Adherence to that Pretender whom they have *ſolemnly* abjured! *

With Regard to the UNJUST MEANS *WILLIAM* is accuſed of having *employed* againſt his Enemies, our Hiſtorian thus expreſſes himſelf. "The Treaty of *Partition* "was *one* of the MOST IMPUDENT SCHEMES "of Encroachment that TYRANNY and IN-"JUSTICE ever planned. *Lewis knew* † "that

* I have been informed by a Perſon of good Credit, that a few Years ago, a Clergyman (even whoſe Name I know not) going abroad, refuſed the Aſſiſtance of a Neighbour, ſaying, "I will "have none come into my Church who pray for "King *George!*"

† The Author of the *Monthly Review* above referred to, *ſenſibly* aſks, "By what peculiar Sagacity "came *Lewis* to *know* this, ſince our Hiſtorian "owns *WILLIAM* generally juſt?" p. 304.

In-

"that *WILLIAM* was *too-much a Politician* to be reſtricted by Notions of *private Juſtice*, and that he would make no Scruple to *infringe* the Laws of *particular Countries*, or † *even the Right of a ſingle Nation*, when the *Balance of Power* was at Stake. The King of *England* lent a willing Ear to his Propoſals, and engaged in a Plan for *diſmembering* a Kingdom, in *Deſpite* of the *Natives*, and IN VIOLATION OF EVERY LAW HUMAN AND DIVINE." *Ub. ſup.* C. VI. §. XIII.

An Inquiry into the Grounds of the *Partition Treaty* will engage us deeply in *Ethics* and *Politics*, which *are* or *ought to be* always connected. We muſt premiſe then, that nothing can be due by *private Juſtice* to *one* Perſon, which is inconſiſtent with the Rights of *another*. Much leſs can that be due to *one* or a *few* which is inconſiſtent with the Rights of *many*. *Individuals* have a Right to Security in their *juſt Poſſeſſions*; much more Nations, which conſiſt of many *Individuals*. But In-

Indeed the Hiſtorian gives not one other *Exception* to his general Juſtice but the Treaty in Queſtion.

† Are the *Rights* of a *ſingle Nation* greater than the *Laws* of *particular Countries*?

dividuals and Nations can have no Security in the Poſſeſſion of their Rights, except by guarding againſt the Devolution of ſuch a Share of Power into the Hands of thoſe whom they *reaſonably* ſuppoſe inclinable to diſturb their Peace, as would enable them ſo to do. On a like Principle is built every juſt offenſive Alliance betwixt Nations. For it is the ſame Thing whether we prevent Power *coming* into the Hand of an Enemy, or take it away when *devolved*. If then it appear from Dr. *Smollett*, that the Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon* might be *reaſonably* ſuſpected dangerous to their Neighbours, when the whole *Spaniſh* Inheritance ſhould fall to either, and that *WILLIAM* thought ſo, it follows that he *committed* or *intended* no Injury when he engaged in the *Partition-Treaty*. Now the Dr. thus declares himſelf: "THE "HOUSES OF BOURBON AND AUSTRIA HAVE "FOR MANY CENTURIES BEEN THE COM-"MON DISTURBERS AND PLAGUES OF "EUROPE." B. IX. C. VIII. §. X.

Again, "THE KING BELIEVED, THAT "A CONJUNCTION OF THE TWO MONAR-"CHIES OF FRANCE AND SPAIN WOULD "PROVE FATAL TO THE LIBETIES OF EU-"ROPE, AND THAT THIS COULD NOT BE

"PRE-

" PREVENTED BY ANY OTHER METHOD " THAN A GENERAL UNION OF THE OTHER " EUROPEAN POWERS. HE CERTAINLY " WAS FULLY CONVINCED, THAT HE HIM- " SELF, OF ALL THE POTENTATES OF " CHRISTENDOM, WAS THE ONLY PRINCE " CAPABLE OF ADJUSTING THE BALANCE." B. VIII. C. VI. §. XL.

As to the *Deſpite* of the *Natives*, which our Hiſtorian mentions, a Monarchy of ſo enormous a Size as one compoſed of all the *Inheritance* of *Spain* and the Dominions of either *Auſtria* or *Bourbon*, would tempt its Poſſeſſor to become more a *Tyrant* over his *own Subjects*, as well as a *Conqueror* of thoſe of other Sovereigns. Therefore King *WILLIAM*, by the Partition-Treaty, deſigned to confer a Benefit on theſe *Natives*, by ſaving them from a *more powerful Maſter*, and therefore *more dreadful Tyrant!* If they were *unwilling* to receive this Benefit, it was nevertheleſs *real*; and, in Truth, though the Pride of even *vulgar Spaniards* was perhaps hurt by the Thought that their Monarchy was to be *diſmembered*, yet they could not avoid having dreadful Apprehenſions of an Emperor of *Germany* or a King of *France* as a Maſter. Thoſe *Spaniards* who chiefly op-

poſed the Partition-Treaty were a ſet of *ve-nal Courtiers*, who wanted to ſell themſelves at an *high Price*.—However, it is ſufficiently clear, that this *Treaty violated no Law* HUMAN or DIVINE; and the Character given to *WILLIAM* as a *Warrior* and *Politician* by our Hiſtorian, is in many reſpects *deſignedly defective*, and in *all* others *highly injurious*.

In the next Place, King *WILLIAM* is painted by our Hiſtorian as "DEAD TO "ALL THE WARM AND GENEROUS AFFEC-"TIONS OF THE HUMAN HEART."

On this Topic I muſt obſerve, that our great *Ethic* Poet, Mr. *Pope*, has juſtly ſung, that, "MAN LOVES FROM PARTS TO WHOLE;" and this Doctrine is found to have ſo deep a Foundation in the human Frame, that we may ſafely conclude, 'A Perſon may have *private* Affections, and yet want *public* ones, but cannot have *public* and want *private* ones.'

Since then it has appeared from Dr. *Smollett*, that King *WILLIAM* had the *warm* and *generous Ambition* of a Citizen of the World, *viz.* to be the Defender of *Europe*, threatened with Slavery by the Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon*, we may juſtly conclude *à priori* that he could not want *warm* and *generous* Affections towards particular

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Perſons. Nor is any fact adduced by our Hiſtorian to invalidate *à poſteriori* this Reaſoning.

But let us examine the Hiſtorian's Aſſertion, that *WILLIAM* was "A COLD "RELATION." As to a *Father*, he never knew one. As to a *Mother*, even *Calumny* accuſes him not of Want of Duty. He is not accuſed of Unkindneſs to a Father's * Siſter, who

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* See *Ralph*, p. 128. Here I cannot avoid taking Notice of the ſingular Conduct of this *celebrated Hiſtorian* Mr. *Ralph*, with Regard to a *Part* of the Prince's Character. He repreſents this young Hero as uſing all *juſtifiable Addreſs* towards the *French* Ambaſſador in 1666, to procure the Continuance of Mr. *de Zuyleſtein* as his Governnor, promiſing to be governed by Mr. *de Wit*, and to ſtick by *France*. He owns, this young Prince had the *Boldneſs* to tell his Mother in Private, as ſhe had given him up to the Tutorage of the Province of *Holland*, he would abide by the Intereſts of that Province and Mr. *de Wit*'s Directions; and at that Time *France* appeared the *firm* Friend of *de Wit* and his Country; ſo that he might be very ſincere, and *doubtleſs* was; nay, Mr. *Ralph* does not in his Account of the Matter, even *inſinuate* that he was not ſo, and ſays "It is certain that nothing more happy could have befallen the *United-Provinces* than this

oppoſed the Intereſts of her Family for the Sake of *France*. In Regard to *Children*, he was never bleſt with any. His Conduct to his royal Spouſe will be preſently examined. As to a Father-in-Law, he would not aſſent to a Scheme of *ſecuring* his Perſon, leſt it ſhould ſuffer in the Attempt. In Reſpect to a Siſter-in-Law, he treated her with Coldneſs when prevailed on by the Counteſs of *Marlborough* not to rely on the Affection of the King and Queen, who had hitherto *amply* provided for her and hers, but to affront them by *inſiſting* on a parliamentary Settlement, at a Time when Union and Confidence among the ſeveral Branches of the *royal Family* was neceſſary againſt their common Enemies. As to her Son the Duke of *Glouceſter*, King *WILLIAM* provided him

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this Diſpoſition of the Prince of *Orange* to adopt the Sentiments and conform himſelf to the Directions of Mr. *de Wit*: For under him he received ſuch Impreſſions, as continued him a *firm Friend* to his Country, to his laſt Breath;" (p. 129.) *i. e.* a Foe to *France*, when *de Wit* became ſo. Yet (behold!) in the Margin, whence many Readers take their Notions, Mr. *Ralph* admits DISSIMULATION. As to the *French* Ambaſſador's giving him this Quality, it has no Relation to this Cenſure.—

a moſt excellent Education (a Bleſſing himſelf had not enjoyed in any ſuch Degree) under the *illuſtrious* Duke of *Marlborough* as *Governor*, and the *learned* Biſhop *Burnet* as *Preceptor*. With Regard to more *diſtant* Relations, he ſecured to *one* the Succeſſion of his Family, as Head of the Houſe of *Orange*, and to *another* the Title of Elector of *Brunſwick*, and Succeſſion * on the Throne of *Great-Britain*. With Reſpect to thoſe who ſerved him; he highly honoured *Schomberg*, who had once appeared at the Head of Forces

* This Circumſtance naturally reminds me of a Paſſage in Dr. *Burrow*'s *Eſſay on divine Providence*. "Perhaps there is no better Ground to believe a *ſpecial Providence* has intervened in any Affair of *public* Nature, the Advancement ſuppoſe of a Perſon to *Power* and *Dignity*, than the Obſervation that his *Advancement* and *Conduct* has GREAT EFFECTS AND FAR-SPREAD HAPPY INFLUENCES." *Appendix*, p. 28. Now the *Hanoverian* Succeſſion is plainly one of the *great* and *genuine* Effects of the *Revolution*, and is likely to be attended with *far-ſpread happy Influences* through diſtant Ages. It is therefore one of the beſt Grounds on which we can conclude the Interpoſition of a *ſpecial Providence* in the *Revolution*.

Forces † oppoſed to him: Though the Earl of *Danby* had been very zealous to fix the Crown on the Head of the Princeſs *alone*, his Highneſs never expreſſed the leaſt Diſguſt on this Account, but, on the contrary, raiſed him to the higheſt Truſts, and treated him with the greateſt Confidence. He, before his Death, committed the Management of the War, in which all *Europe* was ſo much concerned, to the Earl of *Marlborough*, though he had been offended at him either on Account of the Conduct of his Counteſs, whom the King ſuppoſed reſtrainable by him, or by his own Complaint that his Services were not enough valued. *WILLIAM*, without a Requeſt, placed a Mitre on the Head of *Burnet*, and elevated *Tillotſon* to the archiepiſcopal See of *Canterbury*. All theſe *notorious* Facts may be confirmed by the Authority of Dr. *Smollett*. One or two Inſtances of *WILLIAM*'s Warmth of Affection to his Servants, deſerve particular Notice, as recorded by the Dr. becauſe given on the

† I mean not this as any Reflection to the Diſadvantage of Mareſchal *Schomberg*. His Circumſtances rendered him *dependant*, and whilſt he *ſerved* the King of *France*, he was obliged to fight the Prince of *Orange*.

the *Bed of Death*, when Men's Characters appear in their trueſt Colours. " He thanked " Lord *Overkirk* for his LONG and FAITH- " FUL Services. * ——He inquired for the " Earl of *Portland*, and being ſpeechleſs " before that † Nobleman arrived, he

" GRASPED

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* Theſe Services were indeed great. One Inſtance was very remarkable, at the Battle of St. *Denis*. " The Prince in the Heat of Action " advanced ſo far, that he was in great Danger of " being *loſt*, had not M. *Overkirk* come ſeaſonably to his Relief, and killed an adventurous Captain that was juſt going to let fly a Piſtol at " him."—" To teſtify what a Value they [the " States] ſet upon his [the Prince's] Preſervation, " they preſented M. *Overkirk*, who had ſo generouſly oppoſed himſelf to the Danger that threatened his Highneſs, with a Sword whoſe Handle was of maſſy Gold, a pair of Piſtols ſet with " Gold, and a whole Horſe-Furniture of the ſame " Metal." See *Life of King* William, *ſubjoined to* Maurier's *Lives of all the Princes of* Orange, p. 300, 301.

† How well this Nobleman deſerved theſe marks of *royal Gratitude*, may appear, as far as *one* Inſtance goes, from the following Account, given by that *entertaining* and *uſeful* Writer Sir *William Temple*. " I cannot here forbear to give Monſieur

" *Ben-*

" GRASPED HIS HAND and LAID IT TO " HIS [OWN] HEART, with Marks of the " MOST TENDER AFFECTION." *Ub. ſup.* C. VI. §. LXXI.

What an Effort of Affection indeed was this! when he had now only a very little Time to live, when his *Tongur* no longer ex-

preſſed

" *Bentinck* the Character due to him, of the beſt " Servant I have ever known in Prince's or private " Family. He tended his Maſter during the whole " Courſe of his Diſeaſe, [the Small-Pox] both " Night and Day; nothing he took was given " him, nor he ever removed in his Bed, by any " other Hand; and the Prince told me, that whe- " ther *he* ſlept or no, he could not tell; but in " ſixteen Days and Nights he never called *once* " that he was not anſwered by Monſieur *Bentink*, " as if *he* had been awake. The firſt Time the " Prince was well enough to have his Head " opened and combed, Monſieur *Bentink*, as ſoon " as it was done, begged of his Maſter to give " him Leave to go home, for he was able to hold " up no longer; he did ſo, and fell immediately " ſick of the ſame Diſeaſe, and in great Extre- " mity; but recovered juſt ſoon enough to attend " his Maſter into the Field, where he was *ever* " *near* his Perſon." *Memoirs from* 1672 *to* 1679, p. 98, 99. This Relation muſt greatly affect every tender Mind!

preſſed the Dictates of his *Heart*, he ſummoned the ſmall Remains of Strength to teſtify by this *Action*, more expreſſive than any Words, that while *WILLIAM* breathed, *Gratitude* poſſeſſed the Heart of a *Sovereign*; Gratitude, a Virtue which is its own Reward, but which is ſeldom felt by Princes, becauſe they are *almoſt* all taught from Infancy to conſider the greateſt Services as due to them from their Subjects, whom they think overpaid even by a *Smile*.

King *WILLIAM* is, in the next Place, *deſcribed* as "AN INDIFFERENT HUSBAND." But is any Inſtance alledged by our Hiſtorian in Proof of the Juſtneſs of this Stroke? Not one. Dr. *Smollett* on the contrary aſſures us, the King was ſo far from being an INDIFFERENT, that he was a VERY AFFECTIONATE Huſband. For, ſpeaking of Queen *MARY*'s Death, he ſays: "She expired, to the INEXPRESSIBLE GRIEF of "of the King, who for SOME WEEKS after "her Death could neither SEE COMPANY "nor *attend* to the BUSINESS of STATE." *Ub. ſup.* C. IV. §. XLVII. And the Doctor, not content with this *general* Proof of the King's *Affection* for his *amiable* Queen, gives a *particular* ſtriking one, which ſeems

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to have ariſen from the *delicate Enthuſiaſm* of Love, and would have made no mean Figure in the Hiſtory of an *Heliodorus*, viz. that upon the King's death "the Lords—in "waiting—ordered *Ronjat* to untie from "his left Arm a black Ribbon, to which "was affixed a Ring containing ſome Hair "of the late Queen *Mary*. *" *Ub. ſup.* C. VI. §. LXX. Every one ſees, that *WILLIAM* wore not this Lover's Badge in a *public Manner* to attract the Eſteem of the People for his juſt Regard to the Memory of a Queen univerſally beloved; but to

* The Man who ſets an high Value upon *honeſt Fame* and the *Love of his Countrymen*, muſt have a ſtrong Affection for the Perſon whom he can allow to out-rival him in the Purſuit of theſe Things. Yet thus acted *WILLIAM* with Regard to his Queen. "At his firſt Arrival at *Holland*, after he was King, when he was received "by the Crouds and Acclamations of the *Dutch*, "the Earl of *Nottingham*, then with him, congratulated his Majeſty for being ſo beloved in his "Country. The King replied: "*Ah, my Lord, "if my Queen was but here, you would ſee the Difference! Where they give one Shout for me, they "would give* ten *for her.*" Echard's Hiſt. of Revolution, p. 117, 118.

to gratify in the *moſt ſecret* Way the generous Feelings of the tendereſt Heart. *

By the next Caſt of the Hiſtorian's Pen, *WILLIAM* is made "A DISAGREEABLE "MAN;" But on what Facts is this Pretence grounded? Only on his ſpending his leiſure Hours in Hunting, Retirement from the Croud, and, during the Receſs of Parliament, in the Enjoyment of his Friends in his *native* Country. The Hiſtorian repre-

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* In the ſame Memoirs Sir *William* tells us, how delicate the Prince of *Orange* was in the Choice of his Wife. "After long Converſation on this Subject, he told his Ambaſſador, "After the Manner "he was reſolved to live with a Wife, which "ſhould be the *laſt* he could, he would have one "that he thought likely to live well with him, "which he thought chiefly depended upon their "*Diſpoſition* and *Education*." p. 153. And the Prince determined that Sir *William Temple*'s Lady "ſhould endeavour to inform herſelf the moſt par-"ticularly ſhe could, of all that concerned the "Perſon, Humour, and Diſpoſitions, of the young "Princeſs." p. 155. He told his Memorialiſt, "He was reſolved to ſee the young Princeſs before "he entered into that Affair" [of a Marriage with her.] p. 293. "The king [*Charles* the ſecond] "laughed at this Piece of *Nicety*." *Ibid.*

ſents *WILLIAM*'s Enemies as accuſing him, "that after every Seſſion of Parliament he retired from the Kingdom, to enjoy an * INDOLENT and INGLORIOUS Privacy with a few Favourites;" and adds, "Theſe Suggeſtions were CERTAINLY TRUE." *Ub. ſup.* C. VI. §. XVI. He accuſes the Prince alſo of being IMMODERATELY addicted to *Hunting*, and of Reſiding chiefly at *Hampton-Court*. *Ub. ſup.* C. II. §. VII.

Now if it appear from Dr. *Smollett*'s Declarations, that in order to preſerve his Health, *invaluable* to all *Europe*, King *WILLIAM* was obliged to reſide chiefly at *Hampton-Court*, to uſe almoſt continual Hunting, and retire to his *native* Country, where he enjoyed the moſt reſpectable Company, whereas in *England* he was tormented by *turbulent Faction*; he muſt be acquitted on this Head of Accuſation.

But

* It is amazing that the Hiſtorian ſhould *brand* the King with *Indolence*, when, according to his own Account, his Amuſement was the moſt *manly* and *vigorous* Exerciſes of *Riding* and *Hunting*. But there is a Proverb; "Throw Dirt enough, and ſome will *ſtick*."

But the Doctor ſays, " This [Hunting] " had been preſcribed to him by his Phyſi- " cians as NECESSARY to *improve* his Con- " ſtitution, which was naturally weak, and " by Practice had become ſo habitual, that " he COULD not lay it aſide." *Ub. ſub.* C. II. §. VII. Again, " As he could not " breathe without DIFFICULTY in the Air " of *London*, he reſided chiefly at *Hampton-* " *Court.*" *Ibid.* Again, " *WILLIAM* " embarked for *Holland* on Pretence of en- " joying a Receſs from Buſineſs, which was " NECESSARY to his Conſtitution." *Ub. ſup.* C. VI. §. XX. A Pretence is ſometimes *juſt*. Now it is evident, that by this Voyage the king would enjoy a Receſs from the Buſineſs of *England*, which the Doctor owns *neceſſary*; ſo that he muſt mean this *Pretence* was *juſt*, unleſs he mean alſo that under the *Pretext* of *Retirement*, King *WILLIAM* carried on the great Negotiations he was continually engaged in for the Weal of *Europe*. It cannot be *pretended* however, with any Appearance of Plauſibility, that the Prince uſed the Pretext of Retirement on *Account* of bad *Health*, for INDOLENCE.

On the Tories' Carrying the Negative to the Clauſes for the Security of Charters, from

Surrender, the Doctor ſays; "The King —found himſelf—*perplexed* and *diſtracted* between two * Factions;" (*Ub. ſup.* C. II. §. XVII.) and by his Profeſſion muſt be ſuppoſed able to judge of the Neceſſity of theſe Meaſures to preſerve the King's Health; then in the laſt Place declares; "*WILLIAM* mean while enjoyed himſelf at *Loo*, where he was viſited by the Duke of *Zell*, with whom he had long cultivated an Intimacy of Friendſhip." (*Ibid.* §. XXI.) With what Delight does every true *Briton* read, that our *great Deliverer* enjoyed in his Retirement the *Friendſhip* and *Converſation* of ſo reſpectable an Anceſtor of our preſent gracious Sovereign, as the old Duke of *Zell* appears to have been! To complete the Cha-

* All the Conduct of the *Whigs* in King *WILLIAM*'s Reign cannot, I think, be defended; yet this Hiſtorian mentions one Circumſtance in which they *ſhine* in Oppoſition to the *Tories*. "In "the late Panic [in A. D. 1690] which over-"ſpread the Nation, the *Whigs* had appeared to "be the *monied Men*, and ſubſcribed largely for "the Security of the Settlement they had made, "while the *Tories kept aloof* with a *ſuſpicious Cau-tion*." B. VIII. C. II. §. XLIII.

Character of A DISAGREEABLE MAN, the Hiſtorian adds PEEVISHNESS. But Dr. *Smollett* enumerates ſo many Cauſes as would excuſe it if found in *WILLIAM*. To ill Health he adds, " The Diſputes in his Cabinet, and the Oppoſition of thoſe who were *profeſſed Enemies*, as well as—the Alienation of his *former* Friends." (*Ub. ſup.* C. II. §. VII.) In the Detail the Doctor informs us, that the King was ſo perplexed, on the Occaſion juſt now mentioned, between the two Factions, " he RESOLVED to leave the GOVERNMENT." *Ub. ſup.* Again, " The King was *extremely mortified* at theſe Reſolutions of the Commons [to maintain only ten thouſand Men] and even declared to his *particular* Friends, that he would never have intermeddled with the Affairs of the Nation, had he foreſeen they would make ſuch Returns of *Ingratitude* and *Diſtruſt*." *Ub. ſup.* C. VI. §. III. Again, " A bill was brought in on theſe Reſolutions [to reduce the *Engliſh* Forces to ſeven thouſand, *&c.*] to the *unſpeakable* Mortification of King *WILLIAM*, who was not only *extremely ſenſible* of the Affront, but alſo particularly chagrined to ſee himſelf diſabled from retaining his *Dutch* Guards, and the Regiment of

French Refugees, to which he was uncommonly attached." *Ibid.* §. XV. "He deſigned to *abandon* the *Government.*" *Ibid.* §. XVI. "At a Time when they [the Parliament] declared themſelves ſo *well-pleaſed* with their *Deliverer*, ſuch an Oppoſition in an Affair of *very little* Conſequence, ſavoured more of CLOWNISH * OBSTINACY than

* The *Monthly Reviewer* above referred to, ſays; "This Obſervation—is in itſelf *extremely unjuſt.* It muſt be remembered, that king *WILLIAM* had ventured to maintain a greater Number of Troops than had been voted by Parliament, and they reſolved to ſhew their Senſe of ſuch a Violation of the Conſtitution, by ſending all foreign Troops out of the Kingdom; which was ſo far from being a *clowniſh Obſtinacy*, that on the Contrary it was a *laudable Reſentment* and *truly patriotic.* Beſides, they obliged him to no more than he promiſed to do by his own Declaration; and it was high Time to challenge the Performance of his Word, when he made ſuch Stretches of *Prerogative* againſt the Votes of Parliament; and though the Affair might be *in* itſelf of *little Conſequence*, yet it was of great Moment when conſidered as a *Precedent* to Poſterity," p. 300. Be it allowed *truly patriotic* to oppoſe every Stretch of Prerogative againſt the

than of PATRIOTISM." *Ibid.* 41. The Commons were now become *wanton* in their Diſguſt. Though they had received no *real* Provocation, they reſolved to *mortify* him [*WILLIAM*] with their Proceedings. They affected to put odious Interpretations on the *very harmleſs Expreſſion* of LET US ACT WITH CONFIDENCE IN ONE ANOTHER! Inſtead of an Addreſs of Thanks, according to the *uſual* Cuſtom, they preſented a *ſullen Remonſtrance*, complaining that a *Jealouſy* and *Diſguſt* had been raiſed of their *Duty*

the Votes of Parliament: Yet when the King made as great Submiſſion as could be reaſonably deſired by any Parliament, and begged to keep thoſe few Troops (againſt whom, as *Soldiers*, nothing, and for whom much might be ſaid,) ſo that their Retention might appear the Effect of *parliamentary Indulgence*, an Oppoſition unabated by this Conduct, ſeems properly characteriſed by this Hiſtorian, A CLOWNISH OBSTINACY. I have ſaid, nothing could be ſaid againſt the Troops diſmiſſed, as *Soldiers*, becauſe ſomething might be ſaid againſt ſome of them as *Religioniſts*, many of the *Dutch* Guards being *Papiſts*, and as ſuch unqualified by Law to bear Arms. But then this Conſideration does not appear to have been attended to, and would have been of great Force for *retaining* the *French Refugees*.

and Affection; and deſiring he would ſhew Marks of his high Diſpleaſure towards all Perſons who had preſumed to miſrepreſent their Proceedings to his Majeſty." *Ibid.* §. XXII. The Doctor owns the Inquirers into the *Iriſh* Forfeitures *factious*, and adds; "They in particular ſcrutinized a Grant of an Eſtate, which the King had made to Mrs. *Villiers*, now Counteſs of *Orkney*, ſo as to expoſe his Majeſty's *Partiality* for that Favourite, and ſubject him to an additional Load of Odium." *Ibid.* §. XXV. "The King was extremely chagrined at the Bill [for Reſumption of *Iriſh* Forfeitures] which he conſidered as an *Invaſion* of his *Prerogative*, an *Inſult* on his *Perſon*, and an *Injury* to his *Friends* and *Servants*." *Ibid.* §. XXVI.

The Doctor further confeſſes, the *Engliſh* Houſe of Commons obſtructed the Union of the two Kingdoms, "determined to thwart every Step that might lead to leſſen the Diſguſt, or appeaſe the Animoſity of the *Scottiſh* Nation," (*ibid.* §. XXIX) and obſerves, though the King promiſed the *Scots* to call their Parliament at his Return, yet, "even this Explanation, ſeconded by all the Credit and Addreſs of the Miniſters, failed in allaying the national Ferment, which roſe to the very Verge of Rebellion." (*ibid.*). He fur-

further remarks, that on paſſing the Act of Settlement in the *Proteſtant Line*, " The King was *extremely mortified* at the preliminary Limitations [one of which was, that no Place-man ſhould ſit in the Houſe of Commons; and another, that the Sovereign ſhould not go out of the Kingdom without Conſent of Parliament] which he conſidered as an *open Inſult* on his own Conduct and Adminiſtration." (*Ibid*, §. XLIV). On the Commons' Diſapprobation of the *Partition-Treaty*, the Doctor obſerves, " Nothing *could* be *more mortifying* to the King, than this *open Attack* upon his own Conduct." (*Ibid*, §. XLVII). When the Houſe of Commons addreſſed *WILLIAM* to *remove* the four impeached Lords, *Portland*, *Orford*, *Sommers* and *Halifax*, from his Preſence, and the Houſe of Peers to the Contrary; the Doctor ſays, he " was ſo perplexed by theſe oppoſite Repreſentations, that he knew not well what Courſe to follow;" (*Ibid*, §. LII) and adds, " the Commons, in the whole Courſe of this Tranſaction, had certainly acted from the Motives of *Faction* and *Revenge*; for nothing could be more *unjuſt*, *frivolous* and *partial* than the Charge exhibited in the Articles of Impeachment;

ment; their anticipating Addreſs to the King, and their *affected Delay* in the Proſecutions. Their Conduct on this Occaſion was ſo *flagrant*, as to attract the Notice of the common People, and inſpire the Generality of the Nation with Diſguſt." (*Ibid*, §. LIII).

Here ſurely appears abundant Matter of Excuſe, if Peeviſhneſs had taken Poſſeſſion of King *WILLIAM*; but that it did ſo, not one *ſingle* Inſtance is alledged by our Hiſtorian. * On the Contrary, that he made the

* The Author of the *Life of King WILLIAM*, far from *partial* in his Favour, charges him with a Sort of *Peeviſhneſs* indeed, but not a *ſettled* one; only ſuch as is *accidental* on great *Provocations*, and found compatible with the beſt Tempers; in-ſhort, one of the leaſt Imperfections of human Nature. Hear his own Words. "His *unhealthy Conſtitution* made him ſubject to *Paſſion* and *Peeviſhneſs*: but the Effects of theſe were *ſeldom* known, except to his inferior Attendants, and when theſe *ſhort paſſionate* Fits were over, he was the *beſt natured* Man in the World." Vol. III. P. 516. He who harangues on ſuch Foibles in Heroes, is like the Lady in the *Satiriſt*, who exclaims,

"*In* S——'s *Form might Cherubim appear,*
"*But then — ſhe has — a Freckle on her Ear.*"

Dr. YOUNG.

the moſt ſurprizing Efforts to render himſelf agreeable to the Nation, at the *very* Time when he had the greateſt Reaſon to be diſguſted with it, is evident from Dr. *Smollett*'s Confeſſions, which follow. " Whether he [*WILLIAM*] was adviſed by his Counſellors, or his own *Sagacity* pointed out the Expediency of conforming with the *Engliſh* Humour; he now *ſeemed* to change his Diſpoſition," &c. " In *Imitation* of *Charles* the ſecond, he reſorted to the Races at *New-Market*; he accepted an Invitation to viſit *Cambridge*, where he behaved with *remarkable Affability* to the Members of the Univerſity; he afterwards dined with the Lord-Mayor of *London*, accepted the Freedom of the City, and *condeſcended* ſo far as to become ſovereign Maſter of the Company of *Grocers*." (*Ub. ſup.* C. II. §. VII.) Again, " While the whole Nation was *occupied* * in the Elections, *WILLIAM*, by the Advice of his chief Confidents, layed his own Diſpoſition under Reſtraint in another Effort to acquire Popularity. He *honoured* the Diverſions

* One would think this a very improper Time for a Sovereign of *England* to make a Progreſs, for the moſt obvious Reaſons.

verſions at *New-Market* with his Preſence." &c. "Then he viſited the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Northampton*, and *Montague* at their different Houſes in the Country," &c. "He made a *ſolemn* Entry into *Oxford*," &c. (*Ub. ſup.* C. V. §. XXII.) If theſe Efforts to acquire Popularity were painful to *WILLIAM*, his Reſolution to go through them for the public Weal, was very extraordinary. But it ſeems moſt probable, that the Hiſtorian does *Charles* the ſecond too much Honour, when he ſuppoſes *WILLIAM** *imitated*

* Nothing is more *falſe* or *common* than to infer *Imitation* from *Likeneſs*. In Matters of *Divinity*, ſee on this Subject *The Div. Leg. of Moſes*, Vol. II. Part. I. P. 355. and my Epiſtle to Dr. *Warburton*, on "*The Conformity of Rome pagan and papal.*" In Matters of *polite Learning*, ſee Mr. *Hurd's* Eſſay on *poetical Imitation*. On the Subject of *Politics*, the Author of "*the Doctrines which make for Tyranny diſplayed*," (ſuppoſed Sir *Rt. Howard*) remarks, that the *perfect Reſemblance* of the *Revolution* in *Sweden*, under *Chriſtien* and *Guſtavus*, and ours in 1688, "is not to be *wondered* at, but rather to be conſidered as a *good Evidence* that all *Tyranny* is ALIKE; for though the STREAMS from the ſame FOUNTAIN may RUN in ſeveral *Ways* and *Channels*, yet they *all* TEND to the ſame OCEAN of Blood." P. 12, 13.

imitated him; and that our great *Deliverer* honoured the Diverſions at *New-Market* with his Preſence, becauſe he was fond of them, as appears by the Stud he kept, and at a Time when he ſeemed ſo near Diſſolution, that Popularity was of *little* or *no* Conſequence to him. Indeed almoſt † every Hero whoſe Pourtrait ſhines at full Length in Hiſtory, appears to have had a ſtrong Diſpoſition to thoſe Exerciſes, which the nobleſt of the brute Creation, *Horſes* and *Dogs*, afford; and the *allowed Fact* is confirmed by the *Nature of the Thing*; for no Diverſions can be more *ſprightly* and *manly*, or, as *Xenophon*, a *Philoſopher* and *General*, obſerves, be more connected with War *.

If

† See the Account of *Alexander*'s breaking *Bucephalus*, in his Life by *Plutarch*. See *Cyrus*'s Love of Hunting, in *Xenophon*'s *Cyropædia*. See how much Horſes and Dogs were loved by a greater Prince than either *Alexander* or *Cyrus*, by *Henry* the fourth of *France*, Grandfather to our *WILLIAM*, in *Sully*'s Memoirs.

* King *WILLIAM* and his Succeſſors on the Throne of *Great-Britain*, may be ſuppoſed to have had the ſame *political* View in encouraging Horſe-Races, as they had who promoted them in the *Olympic*

If, in the next Place, we conſider the Regard King *WILLIAM* ſhewed to Men of Learning who attended his Court, and how *generouſly* he gave the Diſpoſal of all great Church Preferments to the Queen, aided by the Counſel of *Tillotſon* and *Burnet*, we may with Probability conclude, Viſits to *Cambridge* and *Oxford* as the Seats of *Science*, were not diſagreeable to him. And the Noblemen he viſited were no wiſe his Averſion; on the Contrary, many of them his *prime favourites*. Why then ſhould we imagine, he with Reluctance conferred on them the Honour of Viſits?

As he was born and bred in a Country which owed not only its *Riches* and *Conveniencies*, but even *Support*, to Trade, and the City of *London* had been, at the *Revolution*, well affected to him, we ought to conclude, he willingly gratified it by his Preſence and Incorporation.

The Daſh of his Pen, by which our Hiſtorian makes of *WILLIAM*, an UNGRACIOUS

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lympic &c. Games, *viz.* the Improvement of the Breed of Horſes. See the Diſſertation on the *Olympic* Games, by the late learned and elegant *G. Weſt*, Eſq;

glous PRINCE, ſeems to partake ſo much of the Colours of thoſe two *Traits* which incompaſs it, that I can ſcarce ſee any Confutation of it in particular. However, as we may conſider *WILLIAM* rather as a PRINCE than SOVEREIGN, with Reſpect to the *States-General*, the Epithet UNGRACIOUS will appear from Dr. *Smollett*'s * Accounts of the

* See his Work *paſſim*, eſpecially in the Years 1672 and 1688. See particularly the very affecting Speeches which paſſed between the *States* and *WILLIAM* in thoſe Years.

Of *WILLIAM*'s extraordinary Conduct in 1672, Mr. *Ralph* ſays; "They [*Engliſh* and "*French*] *knew*, Ambition was his [*WILLIAM*'s] *predominant Paſſion*, and therefore "they plied him on that Side, with all the Batteries in their Power, firmly perſuaded that in the "End they would be *irreſiſtible*. But, *quite contrary to their Imaginations*, the Prince *looked* "*down* on what they thought he would have "*aſpired to*. To *betray* his *Truſt* and *ſacrifice his* "*Integrity* and *Honour*, to be only a tributary "Prince to *France*, was in his Opinion a bad "Bargain." How then could the Author ſay, that the *Engliſh* and *French* KNEW what it is plain they KNEW NOTHING of? He proceeds; "That "*noble* and *generous* Zeal for what is *brave* and *honeſt*, which ſhines out ſo *gloriouſly* in *young* Men, "and

the Applauſe he met with for his Conduct towards them, very improperly applied to him in

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" and which a *long* Commerce with the *ſelfiſh* " World is ſo apt to deſtroy, *inſpired* him with " that *heroic* Expreſſion, *That rather than ſee his* " *Country loſt, he would die in the laſt Dyke.*" His Account of the Effect of the Prince's Speech to the States, is very animating. " While he ſpoke, " *Deſpair* quitted the Aſſembly, *Hope* kindled in " every Eye, and *Courage* retook Poſſeſſion of " every Heart, wiſe *Deliberations* made Way for " vigorous *Reſolutions*. They rejected the Propo- " ſals of the two Kings, recalled their Deputies, " made all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for defending " themſelves to the laſt Extremity, and determined, " rather than ſubmit to the *French* Yoke, to tranſ- " port their Families and Effects to the *Eaſt In-* " *dies.*" Vol. III. p. 209, 210.

Sir *William Temple* gives very aſtoniſhing Inſtances how *gracious* this Prince was in the Eyes of his Countrymen. Having mentioned the Prince's falling into the Small-Pox, he ſays: " His Country expreſſed indeed a *ſtrange* Concernment upon this Occaſion, by perpetual Concourſe of People to inquire after every Minute's Progreſs of his Illneſs. Whilſt it laſted, he had taken a Fancy hardly to *eat* or *drink* any Thing but what came from my Houſe, which the People after took Notice of as it paſſed; and though perhaps few Foreigners have had the *Luck* to be better thought of

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in this Light. Let us *only* view one Picture of the Figure he made in their Eyes, as drawn by the Doctor: "*WILLIAM*'s Death was "no ſooner known at the *Hague*, than all "*Holland* was filled with Conſternation. "The States immediately aſſembled, and "for ſome Time gazed at each other with

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or uſed in a ſtrange Country, than we had ever been in *Holland*; yet, ſeveral of our *Dutch* Friends told us, that in Caſe any Thing *fatal* happened to the Prince from this Diſeaſe, they believed the People would pull down our Houſes, and tear us *all to Pieces*, upon knowing what he took in his Sickneſs came from our Hands." *Ub. ſup.* P. 97. How well *WILLIAM* deſerved this Gratitude of the States, may appear particularly from the ſuppoſed Motive of his leaving the Inheritance of his Family. Thus *Oldmixon* expreſſes himſelf: "'Tis *ſuppoſed* that King *WILLIAM*'s Deſign in making this Will, was to recommend the Prince of *Friſeland* to the States-General, if ever they ſhould be diſpoſed to chooſe a Stadtholder, which high Office they might not think fit to confer on ſo potent a Prince as the King of *Pruſſia*, out of Jealouſy of Danger to their *Liberty*, in which the very *Being* of their Republic conſiſts." p. 261. This ſuppoſition is perfectly agreeable to the whole Tenor of *WILLIAM*'s Conduct, and proves, as Mr. *Pope* obſerves, "*The ruling Paſſion ſtrong in Death.*"

" *ſilent Fear* and *Aſtoniſhment*. They *ſighed*, " *wept*, interchanged *Embraces* and *Vows*, " that they would act with Unanimity, " and ſpend their deareſt Blood in Defence " of their Country." *(Ub. ſup.* C. VII. §. VII.)

What generous Man would not gladly ſpend a Life of Pain for his Country, if he *could know* he ſhould be thus lamented when dead; eſpecially, if he were perſuaded, he ſhould be *conſcious* of this *Gratitude* for his *Beneficence!* The laſt Touch given to *WILLIAM*'s Character by our Hiſtorian, is proved *falſe* by the following Declarations of Dr. *Smollett*. *WILLIAM*, learning Deſigns againſt the Government, ordered ſome *Scots* to the *Tower*, and " informed the two Houſes of the Step he had taken, and even craved their Advice with Regard to his Conduct in ſuch a *delicate* Affair, which had COMPELLED him to *treſpaſs* upon the Laws of *England*." *Ub. ſup.* C. I. §. IV. Was this the Part of an IMPERIOUS SOVEREIGN?

He deſired the Houſe of Commons to appoint Commiſſioners to manage the Proviſions for military Affairs in *Ireland*, and inſpect the Manner in which they had been managed. *Ibid.* §. XIV.

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An Addreſs being made to him by the Commons, to recall the Grant of an Eſtate made to the Earl of *Portland*, the Hiſtorian tells us, it " met with a *cold Reception* from the King." *ibid.* §. XXV.

Since the Eſtate was no-wiſe proportioned to the Earl's Services, if the King received this Addreſs ſo *coldly* as not to *reproach* them for an *Inſult* on his Prerogative, but barely to *refuſe* their Requeſt, he was ſo far from acting the IMPERIOUS SOVEREIGN, that he acted the CONDESCENSIVE one.

But Dr. *Smollett* tells us, *WILLIAM* received this Addreſs ſo *warmly* as to grant their Requeſt. *ibid.* Again: He told the Commons, " Although he might think himſelf *unkindly uſed* in being deprived of his Guards, which had attended him in *all* his Actions, yet he was come to paſs the Bill." *Ub. ſup.* C. VI. §. XVI. Was this the Conduct of an IMPERIOUS SOVEREIGN?

" Lord *Ranelagh* was ſent with a written Meſſage to the Commons, giving them to underſtand, that the *neceſſary* Preparations were made for exporting the Guards, &c. unleſs, out of *Conſideration* to him, the Houſe ſhould be diſpoſed to find a Way for Continuing them longer in the Service, an Expedient

pedient which his Majeſty would take VERY KINDLY." *ibid.* Was not this the Behaviour of a *very condeſcenſive Sovereign*?

When the Commons in *wanton Diſguſt* made a *ſullen Remonſtrance* on an Expreſſion, which Dr. *Smollett* allows *very harmleſs*, he " declared in his Anſwer, that no Perſon had ever *dared* to miſrepreſent their Proceedings, and that if any ſhould preſume to *impoſe* on him by ſuch *Calumnies*, he would treat them as his *worſt Enemies*." *ibid.* §. XXII. Was this the Stile of an IMPERIOUS SOVEREIGN?

Lord *Somners* had put out of the Commiſſion of Peace ſeveral Perſons as *diſaffected*. Theſe the Commons deſired might be reſtored as *Men of Fortune*. " The King—aſſured them—he would give Directions accordingly. They were ſo *mollified* by this Inſtance of his *Condeſcenſion*, that they thanked him in a Body for his *gracious Anſwer*." *ibid.* §. XXVII.

King *WILLIAM* ſuppreſſed his Reſentment of the Commons' Diſapprobation of the *Partition-Treaty*, and received from the Lords a Remonſtrance on the ſame Subject with his uſual *Calmneſs*, ſaying, " It contained Matter of very great Moment, *&c.*"

" Though he deeply felt this Affront, he would not alter his Conduct towards his new [*Tory*] Miniſters; but he plainly perceived, their Intention was to thwart him in his favourite Meaſure, and *humble* him into a *Dependence* upon their Intereſt," *&c. ibid.* Again. " Though the King was nettled at that Part of their Addreſs, which by confining him to *one* Treaty, implied their Diſapprobation of a *new* Confederacy, he diſcovered no Signs of *Emotion*, but thanked them," *&c. Ibid.* Thus UNIMPERIOUS was *WILLIAM!*

But the Hiſtorian thinks the Character of IMPERIOUS SOVEREIGN not ſtrong enough, and therefore tells us, the Malecontents, in *WILLIAM*'s Reign, had Reaſon to complain, " THEY HAD ONLY CHANGED ONE TYRANT FOR ANOTHER." *Ub. ſup.* C. IV. §. II.

Yet this Charge is founded on *WILLIAM*'s Confining many Perſons, who being poſſeſſed of Power were likely to exert it in *Rebellion*. This is the Practice of the *wiſeſt* States, and is indeed a benefit in *general* to the *Individuals* confined as well as the Government, as it is not likely a wiſe Sovereign will confine his Friends, and his Enemies

mies are hereby preſerved from Incurring an heavy Puniſhment. Dr. *Smollett* has been produced above, confeſſing that the Kingdom *ſwarmed* with *Male-contents*, who made frequent Attempts on the Perſon and Government of *WILLIAM*, who was *remarkably delicate* on the Subject of Confinement; ſo that he bears Witneſs againſt the Hiſtorian.

TYRANTS may, by Means of *Corruption*, *make* or *repeal* Laws contrary to the Senſe of the People, even in ſuch a Kingdom as ours, but can never gain to their Meaſures the Nation's univerſal Applauſe, though they may *ſilence Oppoſition* both *within* and *without* Doors; eſpecially ſoon after the Struggle for LIBERTY is over. When the *Storm* is ceaſed, the *Waves* a conſiderable Time continue their Emotions, unleſs a *Neptune* * ariſe to compoſe them by his peaceful Trident.

We find *WILLIAM* however, after the moſt unmerited Oppoſition to his Mea-

* *Motos præſtat compeſcere Fluctus.* See *Virg. Æneid*, L. I. where the *ſedate*, *majeſtic* Character of *Neptune* may well be compared with that of the *Britiſh* Sovereign of the Seas an this Occaſion.

ſures, through a long Courſe of Years, by that *Eloquence* which is the genuine Offspring of *Truth*, harmonized the Minds of his *various* and even *diſcordant* Subjects, ſo as to obtain UNIVERSAL APPLAUSE, as Dr. *Smollett* aſſures us (*Ub. ſup.* C. VI. §. LXIII.) by his laſt Speech, in which he *explained* and *enforced* the great and conſtant Principles of his Conduct as *Stadtholder* of the *united States* and *King* of *Great-Britain*. He was then NO TYRANT!

All I ſhall add on the Character of King *WILLIAM*, as drawn by our Hiſtorian, is, that he has thrown into his Margin an Heap of Names, as Vouchers for the Character, without diſtinguiſhing what each aſſerts, ſo that we are left to ſuppoſe that *every one* of them bears Teſtimony not to *Parts*, but the *Whole* of it; whereas indeed ſcarce * one *reſpectable* Hiſtorian among them would

* I cannot allow *Voltaire* this Character, becauſe though he is indeed *highly* reſpectable for his *Genius*, he is *deſpicable* for the Meanneſs of his Heart, which allows him to miſrepreſent Things in any Manner, to anſwer any perſonal View. Thus he ſays, THE MOST IMPIOUS ATTEMPT WAS

would aſſent to one *ſingle Stroke* of the Character as *juſtly drawn* in the Place it ſtands, as it makes a Part of this *miniature Pourtrait*, Biſhop † *Burnet* and Mr. *Tindal* in particular

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WAS MOST SUCCESSFUL, meaning the *Revolution*; (See his *Siecle du Louis* XIV.) yet ſuch is the Force of *Truth*, that on a Compariſon of the Character of *WILLIAM* with that of *Louis*, he owns, that thoſe who think it more noble to *deliver Nations from Slavery* than to *inſlave them*, (which all ſenſible People muſt think) will prefer the *former* to the *latter*. I have not the Book by me, but am ſatisfied, though *Voltaire* uſe not theſe very Expreſſions on the Subject, he uſes *equivalent* ones.

† The *real* Friend of *Truth* and *Liberty* conceals Nothing, but examines every Thing. It muſt not therefore be diſguiſed, that Biſhop *Burnet* charges King *WILLIAM* with ONE VICE, which he was careful to *conceal*, and Mr. *Tindal* obſerves, that the Biſhop, by not Mentioning what this *Vice* was, has left the King's Enemies Room to *inſinuate*, it was the *worſt*.—This is a difficult Current to ſail in. We muſt have *Manus ad Clavum*, *Oculos ad Cœlum*. Biſhop *Burnet*'s Conduct in this Caſe muſt be allowed *injudicious*. He has however left ſufficient Ground, on which we may ſafely conclude, both that *WILLIAM's Vice* was not what

lar have Reaſon to complain of this *Injuſtice*, which, if it be not Forgery, wants, I think, a Name.

Of

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what was here *inſinuated*, and alſo *what* it was. That it was not the Vice here ſuggeſted, muſt appear ſufficiently clear to any impartial Judge from the following Conſiderations. In the firſt Place, Biſhop *Burnet* gives to King *WILLIAM* the Character of a *religious Prince*. Now though every *Vice* is, in Propriety of Speech, inconſiſtent with the Spirit of *Religion*, yet ſome are *leſs*, others *more directly* and *obviouſly* ſo. To erroneous, prejudiced and paſſionate Mankind, *ſome* Vices ſeem reconcileable to the *general religious* Principle; others can ſcarce be made appear reconcileable with it in any Manner. Of this latter Kind is the *Vice* imputed to King *WILLIAM* by his Enemies.—In the next Place, Biſhop *Burnet* could not mean the *Vice* here hinted at, becauſe then he would moſt ſtrongly have reproached himſelf for Adherence to a *Monſter* of *Impiety* and *Profligacy*, and deſerving Death by the Laws of that Country which he governed.—On the other hand, if there be a *Vice* which *ſeems* leaſt inconſiſtent with the *general* Principle of *Religion*, and of which it is moſt probable Biſhop *Burnet* thought King *WILLIAM* guilty, we may ſafely conclude, he meant *this*. Now many Perſons think, that, according to the Syſtem of *natural Religion* at leaſt, it is no Sin in a

Man

Of Queen *MARY* our Hiſtorian writes thus:
" SHE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN A STRANGER
" TO

Man to have a Connection with a *Woman*, founded on the Difference of *Sex*, without the legal Sanction of Marriage, eſpecially if he take Care to *prevent* or *remedy* the Evils thence reſulting to Society, and which are ſuppoſed the *ſole* Reaſons why this Commerce can be forbid by *Revelation*. Some Paſſages alſo in Scripture, ſuch as thoſe relative to *Abraham* and *Keturah*, are thought favourable to this Opinion.—Probably theſe were the Sentiments of King *WILLIAM*, who, according to the Rules of all moral Evidence, appears to have had a Connection of the Kind above-mentioned with the Counteſs of *Orkney*; which Biſhop *Burnet* muſt have known, though, to prevent Scandal, the King was careful to conceal it. This doubtleſs was the *Vice* the Biſhop meant, and which he thought it more agreeable to his *epiſcopal* Character to ſuppreſs the Mention of. By the bye, the Evidence that *WILLIAM* had *this* Vice, is a Proof that he had not the other *inſinuated*, and which is allowed inconſiſtent with *this*, which is indeed the moſt uſual *Vice of Heroes*, the *Warmth* and *Tenderneſs* of their Minds expoſing them *greatly* to it. I will not enter on the *invidious* Taſk of giving a Catalogue of Heroes, whoſe Weakneſs in this Reſpect is recorded in Hiſtory. I will only mention *Henry* the fourth of *France*, Grandfather

to

" TO THE EMOTIONS OF NATURAL AF-
" FECTION; FOR SHE ASCENDED WITH-
" OUT COMPUNCTION THE THRONE FROM
" WHICH HER FATHER HAD BEEN DEPO-
" SED, AND TREATED HER SISTER AS AN
" ALIEN TO HER BLOOD. IN A WORD;
" *MARY* SEEMS TO HAVE IMBIBED THE
" COLD DISPOSITION AND APATHY OF
" HER HUSBAND." *Ub. ſup.* Cap. VI. §. XLVII.

The firſt Line of this Character, viz. " SHE WAS A STRANGER TO THE EMO-
" TIONS OF NATURAL AFFECTION," is only a *general* Calumny, and will be confuted by Dr. *Smollett*'s Aſſertions on all the particular Heads which follow.

The Hiſtorian maintains that " SHE AS-
" CENDED WITHOUT COMPUNCTION THE
" THRONE FROM WHICH HER FATHER
" HAD BEEN DEPOSED." Now in common Language this Word COMPUNCTION is not taken in its *general* Signification, " A Senſation of acute Pain," but in its *particular*

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to our *WILLIAM*. The Picture of his Struggles betwixt *Paſſion* and *Reaſon* on this Subject, as drawn by the admirable Pen of his Favourite *Sully*, is indeed affecting to every humane Mind.

lar one, " A Senſation of acute Pain of Mind for *Crimes* or *Sins*;" juſt as the Word REMORSE is uſed. In this latter Senſe it is no-wiſe applicable to Queen *MARY*; becauſe ſhe committed no *Crime* or *Sin* in Mounting the Throne her Father had left *vacant*, and from which, if * DEPOSED, he was DEPOSED by his own *Tyranny* and *Superſtition* rather than any other Thing or Perſon. But our Hiſtorian produces not *one ſingle* Fact to prove, that Queen *MARY* felt not COMPUNCTION in the *former* Senſe, a Sorrow that her unhappy Father had depoſed himſelf. Nay, we ſhall preſently hear Dr. *Smollett* confeſs, that ſhe had ſtrong Affection for her Father, and therefore muſt on the Occaſion of his *Fall* have felt all *juſt Compunction* ‡.

But

* The ſenſible Editor of Dr. *Swift*'s " *Hiſtory of the four laſt Years of Queen* Anne," remarks the Dean's Abuſe of the Word ABDICATED, which, he juſtly ſays, ſhould have been ABDICATING. The ſame Reflection may be made on the Abuſe of the word DEPOSED here. They are Verbs *reflective*, when applied to *JAMES* the ſecond.

‡ Biſhop *Burnet* gives a very *impartial* and *ſatisfactory*

But the Hiſtorian aſſerts, that ſhe "TREATED HER SISTER AS AN ALIEN TO HER BLOOD." One unacquainted with the Manner in which he draws Characters, would naturally conclude, that this Cenſure regarded the general Tenor of Queen *MARY*'s Conduct towards her Siſter, and was not to be confined to a *ſingle* Tranſaction, which aroſe not long before the Death of the Queen. Yet this Accuſation is well known to refer *only* to the Quarrel betwixt the Princeſs of *Denmark* and her *Sovereigns*; when, as I have above ſhewn, ſhe gave them Matter of *juſt* and *great* Offence, by Preferring a ſervile Dependance on an *haughty* female Favourite, to that *natural* and *reaſonable* one ſhe

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factory Account of this Matter. He owns, he was ſtruck with the Appearance of *Unconcern* in the *Princeſs* of *Orange*, when ſhe arrived at *White-Hall*, at the *Revolution*, inſomuch that he entertained ſome *ſlight* Suſpicion, ſhe had not the ſtrong *filial* Affection he wiſhed; but, in Converſation with her, found, ſhe was commanded by the *Prince* to affect Compoſure, to ſatisfy the People, who might have thought even her *Gravity* a Condemnation of the Prince, and that the Part being unnatural, ſhe *over-acted* it, as might be expected. See *Hiſt. of his own Times.*

ſhe had on them, and notwithſtanding the *ſtrongeſt* yet *gentleſt* Remonſtrances Queen *MARY* could make in Letters which ſpeak the *Soul* of an *afflicted Siſter* as well as *affronted Queen*, continued obſtinate in that blameable Attachment, to which, Dr. *Smollett* owns, the Quarrel was imputed *(Ub. ſup.* C. II. §. XVIII.) Nor gives he ſo much as one Hint that this Imputation was *unjuſt*.

But how did the *King* and *Queen* (for their Conduct muſt be conſidered together) behave on this Occaſion? As ſenſible and well-affectioned Perſons, eſpecially Sovereigns, would have behaved. They broke off all Correſpondence with the Princeſs, when by an *inexcuſable* Weakneſs, ſhe brought her *Governante* into the Drawing-Room, as it were to *inſult* her Sovereigns. Without ſuch a Mark of Diſapprobation of the Princeſs's Conduct, the King and Queen * muſt have ſunk beneath

* This ſeems both a *true* and *full* Vindication of the Queen on this Head of Accuſation. I can by no Means approve the Method of Defence which the *Monthly Reviewer* abovementioned has choſe: "*Candour* (ſays he) would have taught our *Hiſtorian*, that the Wife of ſuch an *ambitious* and reſolute

neath the Character of *private* Perſons of juſt Spirit, and ſuffered an *inſolent Subject*, whoſe Artifice had made the Princeſs her *Slave*, to trample on them too.

Yet when the Princeſs expreſſed her Concern for the Queen's Illneſs, though *ſhe* had not apparently leſſened her Attachment to her haughty Favourite, or made any Submiſſion for her very wrong Behaviour, ſhe was *thanked*, and the Queen ſent her a *forgiving* Meſſage!

As to the Princeſs's Non-admiſſion to the Queen's Sick-Bed, Dr. *Smollett* aſſigns a Reaſon

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reſolute Sovereign as King *WILLIAM*, muſt *neceſſarily* act by *Conſtraint*, and not by *Choice*. Her *good Senſe* and *Prudence* doubtleſs ſuggeſted, that Obedience to the Will of her Huſband was the only Expedient to make her Life eaſy; and in her Behaviour towards her *Father* and *Siſter*, ſhe may be ſuppoſed to have followed *his* Dictates rather than her *own Inclination*." p. 302. To *ſacrifice* what concerns herſelf *only* to the *Obſtinacy* of an *Husband*, is often a Proof of good ſenſe in a *Wife*. But to engage in *injurious Treatment* of others to gratify his *Ambition*, is no leſs diſhonourable to her who complies with the Demand, than to him who makes it. How inconſiſtent ſuch Compliance would be with that *Magnanimity eſſential* to a Sovereign,

Reaſon, which his Skill in his Profeſſion muſt make him know *unanſwerable*. "The *Phyſicians* had directed, the Queen ſhould be kept as QUIET AS POSSIBLE." *Ub. ſup.* C. IV. §. XLVIII.

How much Danger muſt attend a violent Commotion of the † Mind of a Perſon in the

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reign, no body needs be told, and Queen *MARY* would be juſtly the Object of Contempt, if ſuppoſed to have acted againſt either *Father* or *Siſter*, from ſo mean a Motive as Regard to her own *Eaſe*. The *Reviewer* himſelf ſeems to comprehend the true Motive of her Conduct againſt her *Father*, when he ſays ſhe was actuated "by the *Duty* which ſhe owed to her HUSBAND and HER COUNTRY;" (*Ibid.*) and though the Connection betwixt this two-fold *Duty*, and her Reſentment of her Siſter's Miſbehaviour, is not perhaps ſo immediately ſeen by *all Readers* of Hiſtory, yet it appears ſufficiently manifeſt from what I have above advanced.

† Sir *William Temple* aſcribes King *WILLIAM*'s Recovery from the Small-Pox in a great Meaſure to the *Evenneſs of his Temper*. *Ub. ſub.*— The Method of Defence above choſe for Queen *MARY* by the *monthly* Reviewer, may perhaps be thought confirmed by a Repreſentation Biſhop *Burnet* has made of her Sentiments on a very important Subject. He tells us that ſhe ſuppoſed, if the

the *Small-Pox*, every one, though unacquainted with the *Theory* or *Practice* of Physic

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the Laws of *England* gave not all her Right to a Crown to her *Husband*, they contradicted those of *Man* and *God*. Now it may *perhaps* be concluded, that such an *extravagant* Sentiment as this, is *only* reconcileable to such Principles as would teach her an *unbounded* Obedience to the Dictates of her Husband; and therefore she might *persecute* both her *Sister* and *Father*, from a *religious* Principle of *blind* Obedience to an *Husband*. But the Cases are *very* different. For Want of being taught to distinguish betwixt these Rights which she enjoyed as a *private* Person, and those which she possessed as a *public* one, she imagined the *one* as *easily* and *necessarily* transferred to the Husband as the *other*. She knew not, that the *one chiefly* regard the Person's *Self*, the other *Society*, and therefore cannot be transferred but as *Society* has ordered. We cannot doubt, that Bishop *Burnet*, who was very well acquainted with the needful Distinction of these Rights, and resolved to abide by it to the Loss of *WILLIAM*'s Favour, taught it to the Princess when he learnt her *Ignorance* of it, though he urged her Declaration on this Subject, as a Proof she was *willing* to *associate* the Prince on the Throne. See the *History of his own Times*. But if we had not known all these Particulars, we could not reasonably

ſic in any great Degree, muſt know. And how violent a Commotion of the Queen's Mind muſt have attended an Interview with her Siſter at that Time, *any* one may *eaſily* imagine. In ſhort, it is highly probable, the Queen was not made acquainted with her Siſter's Requeſt for Admittance: But if ſhe was, and deſirous of granting it with ſo great Danger to herſelf, we may be aſſured, no *judicious* Attendant would indulge her Inclination.

Thoſe who have ſtrong natural Affections towards *one* Relation, may juſtly be ſuppoſed to have them towards the *reſt*. Now that Queen *MARY* had ſuch towards a *Father* and an *Huſband*, Dr. *Smollett* expreſsly aſſures us in the following Terms: "SHE WAS DISTRACTED BETWEEN HER APPREHENSIONS

ſonably have *concluded*, that becauſe the Princeſs thought her *public* as well as *private* Rights, tranſferred to her Huſband, therefore ſhe thought the Exerciſe of the *former* would allow him to trample on the *latter*, and that ſhe was ſo *abſurd* as to imagine, that, in order to be a *good Wife*, ſhe muſt be a *bad Daughter* and *Siſter*.—That *WILLIAM* acted not on ſuch Suppoſition, appears from his *Delicacy* about ſeizing the Perſon of *JAMES*, *&c.* See *Burnet*, *ub. ſup.*

HENSIONS FOR HER FATHER'S SAFETY AND HER HUSBAND'S LIFE." *Ub. ſup.* C. II. §. XXXII. In the laſt Place, ſince Dr. *Smollett* has above declared, that APATHY was far from being *characteriſtic* of *WILLIAM*, nay, that he had a Diſpoſition INCONSISTENT with it; if Queen *MARY* had been *poſſeſſed of it*, SHE COULD NOT HAVE IMBIBED IT FROM HER HUSBAND. But that SHE HAD IT NOT, has juſt now appeared from the Doctor's Teſtimony. *

Let

* *Voltaire* acknowledges, that Queen *Mary* remitted annually a conſiderable Sum to her Father for his Support, and taxes *JAMES* with *Meanneſs* in accepting it. But if this Sentiment of *Voltaire*'s does not proceed from Pride, I know not what does. See his *Siecle du Louis* XIV. However *Papiſts* and *Jacobites* may now *really* regard, or *affect* to regard the Character of Queen *MARY*, it appears from Mr. *Echard*, ſome of the moſt zealous of the *Romaniſts* admired her *heroic* Behaviour with Reſpect to the Crown even at the Time of the *Revolution*, when Prejudices might be ſuppoſed ſtrongeſt. He repreſents her as ſaying *in private* to the Earl of *Danby* the Night ſhe arrived at *White-Hall*, " Do you but take Care to ſecure the *Proteſtant* Religion, the Liberties of *England*, and the *general* Good of the

Let us now ſee with what glorious Colours our Hiſtorian paints *JAMES* the ſecond. He has employed *black* only in the Portrait of *WILLIAM* and * *MARY*.

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the *Public*, and then make me what you pleaſe, and as *little* as you pleaſe. I value neither *Titles* nor *Honours*, but to ſupport theſe *great Things*. When you can make them *ſure* without me, ſend me away as ſoon as you pleaſe." He adds, " This came from a Lady of great *Honour* and *Quality*, who had it from the Mouth of the forementioned Lord; which Lady, though a *zealous Romaniſt* herſelf, could not but admire the *heroic Sentiments* of the Princeſs." See his *Hiſtory* of the Revolution, p. 264.

* If it be lawful to point out a *Blemiſh* in ſo amiable a *Pourtrait* as that of Queen *MARY*, I would take Notice of one common to moſt great Characters, *viz.* a *Want of juſt Suſpicion*. She knew all candid in her own breaſt, and was therefore inclinable to think all ſo elſe were. Hence ſhe gave her Confidence to Men who had indeed aſſiſted in the Revolution, nay ſome of them been great Inſtruments of it, yet continued *rank Tories*. Hear Dr. *Smollett*, " The Misfortunes of the Nation *in all Probability* aroſe from a motley Miniſtry, divided among themſelves, who, inſtead of acting in Concert for the Public, employed all their Influence to thwart

In his Account of the famous Battle of the *Boyne*, he ſays of this *unhappy* Monarch: "Through the whole of this Engagement, his PERSONAL COURAGE WAS MUCH MORE CONSPICUOUS than his MILITARY SKILL." *Ub. ſup.* §. XXIX.

Here is indeed *only* a *Compariſon* of *Courage* and *Skill*, yet conceived in ſuch Terms as lead us directly to conclude, that even his *Skill* was *conſpicuous*, though leſs than his *Courage*, if there be any Propriety in Language. We do not compare *negative Quantities.*

Dr. *Smollett* however gives us an Account of the Matter very different from this. In his Relation of the Battle, he ſays: "*JAMES* himſelf STOOD ALOOF during the Action, on the Hill of *Dunmore*, ſurrounded with ſome Squadrons of Horſe, and ſeeing *Victory* declare againſt him, retired to

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thwart the Views, and blacken the Reputation of each other. The People in general exclaimed againſt the Marquiſs of *Caermarthen*, the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Rocheſter*, who had acquired great Credit with the Queen, and from their *Hatred* to the *Whigs*, BETRAYED the Intereſts of the Nation." *Ub. ſup.* C. IV. §. XXVII.

to *Dublin*, without having made the LEAST EFFORT to re-aſſemble his *broken Forces*; Had he poſſeſſed either SPIRIT or CONDUCT," *&c. Ub. ſup.* Here is an *expreſs* Declaration that *JAMES* poſſeſſed neither SPIRIT, (COURAGE,) nor CONDUCT, (MILITARY SKILL;) therefore in him the *one* could not be *much more conſpicuous* than *the other*.—Again, the Doctor moſt juſtly remarks: "He [*JAMES* the ſecond] ſeemed to have been EMASCULATED by RELIGION. He was *deſerted* by that COURAGE and MAGNANIMITY, for which his Youth had been *diſtinguiſhed*".—"ALL HIS FACULTIES WERE SWALLOWED UP IN BIGOTRY." *Ub. ſup.* C. I. §. XXVIII. Nothing can be more juſt than this! SUPERSTITION is "*an unreaſonable Fear* of the *Deity*;" and as the *Deity*, when conſidered as an Object of *Terror*, is the *moſt terrible*, SUPERSTITION muſt make the *greateſt* COWARDS of her *Votaries*. And ROBERY is the worſt of all SUPERSTITIONS!

Our Hiſtorian, however, to the Account of *JAMES* the ſecond's Death, ſubjoins the following extraordinary Declaration. "HIS RELIGION CERTAINLY OPENED AND IMPROVED THE VIRTUES OF HIS HEART."

If he can reconcile this Panegyric to any Principles but thoſe of a *Papiſt*, he has my Leave; but I confeſs the Taſk too difficult for myſelf or any Perſon I have yet converſed with on the Subject. He introduces this Panegyric indeed with Mention of the *Virtues* of *private* Life, but confines not his *Eulogium* to THESE. He makes it as *general* as *poſſible*, and in this acts *wiſely* and *conſiſtently*. For there is ſuch a CLOSE CONNEXION betwixt ALL the *Virtues*, and the Principle of RELIGION which muſt *perfect* them, is of ſuch UNIVERSAL INFLUENCE, we may ſafely conclude if it *effects one*, it has a *Tendency* to *effect* them *all*. Let us ſee then what *Virtues* this RELIGION has produced in *JAMES*, that we may judge of the reſt.

Dr. *Smollett* will inform us what Virtues POPERY *opened* and *improved* in *JAMES* during his Expedition to *Ireland*, when he had *Time* to have *learnt* from *Experience* of the bad Conſequences of *Inhumanity*, the Virtues of HUMANITY. He owns, *JAMES*'s Conduct on this Occaſion very ill agreed with his Declaration at Landing, that he would preſerve the *Perſons*, *Properties*, and *Liberty* of *Conſcience* of his *Proteſtant* Subjects. He even repealed the Act of Settlement, by which

which they were ſecured in the Poſſeſſion of Eſtates forfeited by the Rebellion of *Papiſts*. *Ub. ſup.* C. I. §. XXXVIII. And though he paſſed an Act for *Liberty* of *Conſcience*, he *proſcribed* all the *Proteſtants* of *Ireland*, who ſubmitted not to his Government, and deprived the *eſtabliſhed* Church of all *Power* and *Prerogative*. *ibid.* §. XXIX. To him may juſtly be aſcribed the Cruelties of *Roſene* in that Kingdom. For this *French* General, who acted *only* as an Auxiliary, and under his Eye, muſt be ſuppoſed to have been either *expreſly directed* or at leaſt *countenanced* in the Commiſſion of them by this *Tyrant*. Dr. *Smollett* gives the following *pathetic* Deſcription of them. Parties of Dragoons having ſtripped all the Proteſtants for thirty Miles round—drove theſe unhappy People before them like Cattle, without even ſparing the *enfeebled* old Men, *Nurſes* with *Infants* at their Breaſts, tender *Children*, Women *juſt delivered*, and ſome even *in the Pangs* of Labour! About FOUR THOUSAND of theſe miſerable Objects were driven under the Walls of *Londonderry*." *Ub. ſup.* §. XXXIV.

To add to the Horror of this Scene, be it remembered, that the Doctor confeſſes, moſt of theſe Victims to *popiſh* Cruelty had the Pro-

Protection of *JAMES* in their Pockets; a Protection as uſeleſs as that which the Prieſts of *Rome* give their deluded Votaries againſt the *Juſtice* of God! The Hiſtorian indeed would perſuade us, that *JAMES* on this Occaſion was ONLY UNABLE to defend his *Proteſtant* Subjects; but it appears from Conſiderations above ſuggeſted, and the Accounts of Dr. *Smollett*, that he was UNWILLING. And this *ingenuous* Writer confeſſes, that he actually tyrannized in *Ireland* to ſuch a Degree as to raiſe the *current* Value of Braſs Money above the *real* nearly as THREE HUNDRED to ONE. He then *forced* it on *Proteſtants*, and when they had laid it out in Goods, took them at his own Price. *ibid.* §. XL. Was he *only unable* but *not unwilling* to defend his *Proteſtant* Subjects from this Violence? Such are the Virtues which *Popery opened* and *improved* in the Heart of *JAMES!*

Did not this *Religion* actuate him when he *conſented* to the *Aſſaſſination* of King *WILLIAM?* Our Hiſtorian indeed tells us, "that *unfortunate* Monarch [*JAMES* the ſecond] was *unjuſtly* charged with the Guilt of *countenancing* that intended Murther [of King *WILLIAM*] as they [the Conſpirators]

rators] communicated nothing to him but an Attempt to ſeize the Perſon of the PRINCE * of ORANGE. *Ub. ſup.* C. III. §. XXXIII. The Subſtance of the Hiſtorian's Apology for *JAMES* on this Head, is as follows. Though the Witneſſes againſt the Conſpirators charge *JAMES* with having *countenanced* the Aſſaſſination of his Son-in-Law, yet the Conſpirators, when dying, acquitted him.' The Queſtion then is, Whether is it more reaſonable, to *credit* the Conſpirators or the Witneſſes againſt them on this Head? Now the Witneſſes had no Sort of *Occaſion* or *Motive* to charge *JAMES* with a Conſent to this Aſſaſſination, if they had not known it true; becauſe the Conſpirators, againſt whom they witneſſed, were *equally guilty* if *JAMES* did not conſent; nay, rather more ſo; becauſe the Approbation of their Deſign in its full Extent by the Man whom

* Why does our Hiſtorian here call *WILLIAM* only "*the Prince of Orange*?" He was at the Time in Queſtion mounted on the Throne of *Great-Britain*, and as much King as *ever*. But, it ſeems, the Hiſtorian thought him *never* ſo. *N. B.* He does not ſpeak in the Perſon of *JAMES*, or his Partiſans.

whom they thought their King, might in ſome Degree extenuate the Heinouſneſs of their Engagement. Beſides, Attempts of this Kind are moſt fully known to be the *genuine Offspring* of the RELIGION of *JAMES*; it being thought the higheſt Merit at *Rome*, to triumph over the Weakneſs of *natural Affection* and *ſocial Duty*, when the Cauſe of the Church can be thereby advanced.

On the other Hand, the *Conſpirators* were violent Partiſans of *JAMES*, and therefore may juſtly be ſuppoſed to ſay any thing which appeared likely to ſerve him; and of this Kind appeared the Wiping off ſo foul an *Aſperſion* from his Character, as the Imputation of a Conſent to the *Aſſaſſination* of King *WILLIAM*. Yet it will be ſaid: "Great Regard ſurely is due to the Aſſertions of dying Men." I anſwer, None at all, when theſe dying Perſons appear actuated by that Enthuſiaſm of *Popery* which ſtifles all Senſe of Morals; eſpecially if in theſe dying Speeches appear *plain Contradictions* to *Truth*. Now *Lowick*, a Papiſt, in his Speech declared, "He would not kill the *moſt miſerable* Creature in the World, even though ſuch an Act would ſave his Life, RESTORE HIS SOVEREIGN, and make *him* [I ſuppoſe he means

means *himſelf*, not his King, as the Word ſtrictly ſignifies,] *one of the greateſt* Men in *England.*" *Ub. ſub.* C. V. §. XXXII. Yet this very Man confeſſes in the very ſame Speech, He, a Soldier by Profeſſion, would have joined *JAMES* at his Landing, conſequently, have killed *not only* the *moſt miſerable*, but even the *happieſt Creatures* he had met in Oppoſition to his *imagined* Sovereign. *ibid.* What a palpable Contradiction! *Rookwood*, a Papiſt and Soldier too, in his Declaration delivered to the Sheriff, prayed " God would open *his* [*WILLIAM's*] Eyes, and render him ſenſible of the Blood that was from ALL Parts CRYING againſt him, ſo as he might avert an *heavier Execution* [on himſelf] than that which he now ordered to be inflicted." *ibid.* Here is the true Spirit of *Uncharitableneſs* uttered in a Prayer for the Perſon calumnized! The Man who could thus *ſcandalouſly* outrage *Truth* by repreſenting King *WILLIAM* as a *bloody Tyrant*, can certainly deſerve no Credit to any thing delivered merely on his own Authority, eſpecially in the ſame Compoſition; more eſpecially when he had *ſo many* Motives to *falſify*, as may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to actuate this *aſſaſſinating* Partiſan

tiſan of *JAMES*. The Government acted *very prudently* in ſuffering ſuch an extravagant Declaration to be publiſhed; and our Hiſtorian *very imprudently* in retailing it. But in him the Love of Calumny prevailed. In the laſt Place, what Credit can be given to *Perkins*, "AN ARTFUL LAWYER" (as Dr. *Smollett* confeſſes) who therefore knew how to make the *beſt* of a *bad* Cauſe? After all, if there had not been this *direct* Proof of *JAMES*'s Knowledge and Approbation of the Aſſaſſination, it might have been deduced from allowed Fact, *viz.* his Aſſent to the Attempt to ſeize the Perſon of King *WILLIAM*: For in Caſe of Reſiſtance, the Conſpriators muſt, in their own Defence, have put him to Death, as Dr. *Smollett* confeſſes they intended. *Ub. ſup.* C. V. §. XXVII. Now that *WILLIAM* would have reſiſted, is a *moral Certainty*, and ſo evident, it muſt have appeared ſuch to *JAMES*. By countenancing *one* Attempt therefore, he *knowingly countenanced* the other. Every Body knows, how oppoſite the Conduct of *WILLIAM* was in a like Caſe*, from

* On a Propoſal urged by Lord *Clarendon*, to ſeize

From Dr. *Smollett*'s Declarations then it appears, COWARDICE, FLAGRANT INJUSTICE, and CRUELTY, were the three principal Virtues which *Popery opened* and *improved* in *JAMES*'s Heart. I might add EXTREME INCONTINENCE and INGRATITUDE, TREACHERY and IMPRUDENCE. For Proofs of each of these I may venture to refer the Reader to Dr. *Smollett*'s History of this Monarch's Reign, without giving him and myself the Trouble of a Reference to particular Passages in a Matter so extremely evident.

In the Progress of his Work, our Historian pourtrays that Son of the *Pretender*, who came in the Year One thousand seven hundred and forty five to rob *Great Britain* of all

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seize King *JAMES* and send him to *Breda* to be imprisoned; "The Prince said, he could not deny but that this might be *good* and *wise* Advice; but it was that to which he could not hearken: He was so far satisfied with the Grounds of this Expedition, that he could act against the King in a *fair* and *open* War; but for his Person, now that he had him in his Power, he could not put such an Hardship on him as to make him a Prisoner: And he knew the Princess's Temper so well, that he was sure she would never bear it." *Burnet's History of his own Times.*

all its *civil* and *religious* Bleſſings, as a PERFECT MODEL of every *civil* and *military* Virtue! B. IX. C. VIII. §. III. Here the Hiſtorian is *conſiſtent enough*. We cannot forget, that the *Religion* which *opened* and *improved* all the *above-enumerated* Virtues in the Heart of his *ſuppoſed* Grandfather *JAMES* the ſecond, dwells in his Breaſt.

The *critical Reviewers* in their *pompous*, and *laboured* Panegyric * of the Author of "*the complete Hiſtory of England*," aſſure us, "IF EVER HE IS BIASSED, IT IS IN FAVOUR OF DISTRESS; AND IF THIS BE "A FAULT, IT PROCEEDS FROM THE TENDERNESS OF HIS NATURE."

Let us look a few Minutes on ſome Inſtances of this Biaſs.

In his Account of the Affairs of the Year One thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen, he exclaims: "THE NOBLEMEN AND CONSIDERABLE OFFICERS WERE SENT TO LONDON, CONVEYED THROUGH THE STREETS, PINIONED LIKE MALEFACTORS, AND COMMITTED TO THE TOWER AND NEWGATE." *Ub. ſup.* C. I. §. XXVI. What a melancholy

* In their *Review* for *May* 1757.

choly Picture is here! The poor Men are ſent to *London!* Nay, they are conveyed through the open Streets! They are pinioned too, for fear they ſhould make their Eſcape, *like Malefactors* *, 'People who have done Miſchief;' whereas, according to our Hiſtorian's Sentiments, they have been fighting for their *King*, their *Country*, their *Religion!* Others indeed will ſay, and moſt juſtly, they have *deſtroyed a great Number* of his Majeſty's *loyal Subjects*, and endeavoured to *deſtroy* the reſt; to rob the Sons of *Britain* of all that is *valuable* to them as *Men* and *Chriſtians*. Lo! at laſt theſe pitiful Captives are committed to the *Tower* and *Newgate!* The Hiſtorian's *Tenderneſs*, it ſeems, inclined him to draw this Picture, but not a much more affecting one, of the Calamities the Nation muſt have undergone, if the Attempt of theſe Captives had ſucceeded.

The ſame Tenderneſs, no doubt, inclined our Hiſtorian to beſtow on Lord *Derwentwater*, a *Papiſt* who endeavoured to load his Countrymen with the Fetters of *Tyranny* and *Superſtition*, to ſharpen the Ax of the *former*,

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* He ſays not, "*common Malefactors.*" *N. B.* The great Numbers of theſe Malefactors who eſcaped from Priſon, ſhews the Neceſſity of ſafely guarding them thither.

and prepare the Faggots of the *latter*, the Character of GENEROUS and HUMANE. *Ibid.* §. XXXII *. The ſame Diſpoſitions, no doubt, taught him to affirm, that "the *Severities* exerciſed againſt the *Rebels*, increaſed the *general Diſcontent*." *Ibid.* §. XXXIV. But tells he us, what theſe *Severities* were? No! On the Contrary, he well knew, if he deſcended to the Detail, he muſt either *manifeſtly contradict Truth*, and expoſe himſelf to the moſt ſhameful Detection, or ſhew clearly, that never *ſuch* Rebels were *ſo mildly* chaſtiſed, except by the *preſent King*, after the laſt Rebellion. Well might the late King complain, that *Mercy*, the brighteſt *Jewel* in the Crown of Majeſty, was *ſullied*, nay even *trampled on*, by the *profane Ingratitude* of thoſe Men upon whom it ſhone with ſuch benign Influence! See Dr. *Smollett*, B. IX. C. I. §. XXXV. The Tenderneſs of our Hiſtorian hurries him on. He exclaims. "The *Courage* and *Fortitude* with which the condemned Perſons encountered the Pains of Death in its *moſt dreadful* Form, prepoſſeſſed many Spectators in favour of the Cauſe by which thoſe unhappy *Victims* were *animated*." *Ibid.* *Unhappy Victims!*

* The Hiſtorian takes no Notice of the Levity of the Government, which ſuffered this *Traitor* to pronounce a *Libel* againſt it at the Scaffold.

this! To what? To the Bigotry of *Popery* and *Jacobitism*. The Hiſtorian gives us nothing but his own Word for the *ſeveral Facts* here aſſerted, *viz.* in the firſt Place, that the *Rebels* met *Death* with *true* Courage; in the next Place, that it appeared in its *moſt dreadful* Form; in the third, that their Behaviour *prejudiced* many Spectators in Favour of *Rebellion*: His own Authority has been *proſtituted* ſo long, it deſerves no Regard; and we know ſome of the Facts falſe. Certainly Death appears not in our Iſland ſo dreadful to the Rebel, as it would amidſt *Tortures* and *Racks* in *Italy* and *France*, whence theſe Rebels drew the Maxims of that Government they would have eſtabliſhed on the Ruins of our *moderate* one. The Hiſtorian concludes: "IN A WORD, PERSECUTION, AS USUAL, EXTENDED the HERESY. THE MINISTRY PERCEIVING THIS UNIVERSAL DEFECTION," *&c. Ibid.* To puniſh Men taken in actual Arms againſt the *beſt* Government in the World, after a *legal* and *candid* Trial, is, in the Opinion of our Hiſtorian, PERSECUTION! So blinded is he by *Tenderneſs*, as to *imagine* he ſees *Britons* ALL BECOME JACOBITES!

The excellent Lord Chancellor *Cowper*, in his admirable Speech on Occaſion of paſ-

ſing Sentence on the rebel Lords above-mentioned, *wiſely* and *juſtly* obſerves, that *Rebels* CONQUER even when they are OVERCOME. The natural Compaſſion of Mankind, eſpecially of the generous *Engliſh*, makes them behold with Averſion the few and neceſſary Executions even of the *moſt notorious* and *deteſtable* Traitors, which are artfully exaggerated by *party* Zeal, whilſt the *many* and *ſhining* Inſtances of *Mercy* in the Sovereign are *obſcured* and dragged into the *Land of Forgetfulneſs*. Our Hiſtorian's Conduct is an excellent Comment on Lord *Cowper*'s Text.

The ſame extravagant *Tenderneſs* actuated our Hiſtorian in his Account of the Executions, on Account of the laſt Rebellion. "*Seventeen* OFFICERS (ſays he) of the *rebel Army* were executed at *Kennington-Common*, *&c.* and ſuffered with GREAT CONSTANCY under the DREADFUL TORTURES which their Sentence preſcribed: *Nine* were put to Death in the ſame Manner at *Carliſle*; *ſix* at *Brumpton*; *ſeven* at *Penrith*, and ELEVEN at *York*." B. IX. C. IX. §. VI.

As to the Number of *rebel Officers* executed elſewhere, I ſhall not give myſelf any Trouble to inquire; though I have the ſtrongeſt

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Preſumption to conclude, that the Hiſtorian has falſified in every Inſtance. I ſhall *only* obſerve, that he has done ſo *remarkably* with Regard to the City of *York*. I, who am a Native of the County, and reſided within a few Miles of the City during the whole Time of the laſt Rebellion, and almoſt continually ſince, never heard of more than ONE OFFICER, *viz.* Captain *Hamilton*, executed here. But that the Numerals NINE, SIX, SEVEN, ELEVEN, muſt all refer to the ſame Kind of Perſons who are joined to the firſt numeral SEVENTEEN, a Child who has ſcarce opened a Grammar, knows. As we cannot ſuppoſe ſo great a Maſter of Language as the Hiſtorian, to have wrote thus through *Ignorance*, ſo neither can we ſuppoſe him, through * *Inadvertence* in his repeated Peruſals, not to have ſeen the Miſtake, if it had been an involuntary one. It muſt then be an Effort to execute his grand Scheme, to make the Government ODIOUS, by leaving his Readers to conclude what great Numbers of *common*

* Is it to this we are to aſcribe his Account, that the *young Pretender* was ſo *ſucceſsful*, as *actually* to be proclaimed KING at *Carliſle*, and again at *Derby*? See B. IX. C. VIII. §. XXXII.

Men muſt have been *executed*, when ſo *many* Officers *ſuffered!*

But perhaps the Hiſtorian who appears perfectly well acquainted with the *Secrets* of the young *Pretender*, and gives us a moſt minute Account of his Eſcape from *Scotland*, knows, that every one of the ragged *Banditti*, executed for the late Rebellion, had a Commiſſion in his Pocket to command in Regiments *to be raiſed* to dragoon us, when this Adventurer ſhould be once eſtabliſhed a little better amongſt us. Be this Point as it will, and his Intelligence from *Scotland* on this Head ever ſo good, till it is proved ſo, we can give no Credit to the Aſſertion. He muſt produce better Proofs than his *own Word*, before we ſhall credit his Account of the Barbarities which he charges the Duke of *Cumberland* to have committed in *Scotland*. We may reaſonably be excuſed for not giving Credit to his bare * Aſſertion of ſuch Facts at

* The *monthly Reviewer* above referred to, juſtly remarks the *Arrogance* and *Vanity* of our Hiſtorian, who gives not *one Authority* but his own Word from the Commencement of the preſent Reign. I cannot ſay with that *Reviewer*, "We wiſh the Hiſto-

at ſo great a Diſtance as the *remoteſt* Parts of *Scotland*, when he ſo notoriouſly miſrepreſents Things even under our Eyes; when he multiplies *one Officer* into *eleven*, and raves about *dreadful Tortures* which never exiſted. For, in the Name of *Truth*, what are theſe which he ſo pompouſly declaims about? They are the Creatures of his IMAGINATION *diſordered* by his TENDERNESS.

TORTURE, in any tolerable Propriety of Speech, has been *long* expelled this happy Kingdom! We are in no Fear of its Return, unleſs the *falſe Tenderneſs* of ſuch Partizans as our Hiſtorian, ſhould bring it back from *France* and *Rome* with the *Pretender*. But what does this Writer mean by his *dreadful Tortures?* The ancient Laws of *England* ordain, that Rebels ſhall be HANGED, TAKEN DOWN ALIVE, THEIR HEARTS, *&c.* PLUCKED OUT, AND THEMSELVES QUARTERED. But though this Puniſhment, if

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Hiſtorian has not been guilty of ſome *wilful* Miſtakes on this Head;" (p. 301.) for as he cannot be excuſed for his Aſſertions on this Subject by *unavoidable Ignorance*, ſo I both *wiſh* and *hope*, it will appear, that he has *committed Miſtakes*, and therefore *wilful ones*.

executed in the utmoſt Rigour, cannot by the *Impartial* be thought *too ſevere* for ſuch Rebels as thoſe in Queſtion, yet it is a *moſt notorious* Fact, that all this Parade of *Puniſhment* amounts to no more than *ſimple* HANGING, probably one of the moſt eaſy of Deaths, at leaſt of the *unnatural* ones. The Malefactor is loſt to *all* Senſe before he is *taken down*. All that follows is deſigned *only* to impreſs an Horror on the Minds of the Spectators; a juſt Horror of *Rebellion!* If it be applied to excite a Commiſeration of the *hardened Rebel*, as the Hiſtorian applies it, it is a *moſt unnatural* Abuſe of the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature. Did not the Hiſtorian, whoſe Title-Page tells us he is a *Phyſician*, *know this?* Or *knowing*, did he for an *infamous* party Purpoſe conceal the *Truth?* Certainly the *latter* *. What a ſtrong Proof is it

* "Should an Author betray his *Partiality* in *one* Place, he will *hardly* find Credit in *another*, even where he ſcrupulouſly adheres to the Truth." This is a juſt Maxim, and to be found in the *critical Review* for *February* 1758. Art. II. p. 99. Who can avoid taking Notice on this Occaſion, that the Hiſtorian makes not the leaſt Mention of a Fact which has always been looked on as *authen-*

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it of the *Lenity* of the Government which he accuſes of *Severity*, that he is allowed *without Proof* and *with Impunity* to accuſe the favourite Son of his *Sovereign*, and the *Deliverer of*

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tic, and never once *contradicted* that I know of, *viz.* that the Rebels at *Culloden* had expreſs Orders to give no Quarter? When *Invaders* and *Rebels* had ſuch Orders given, and appeared diſpoſed to execute them with the *exacteſt Obedience*, what *Severity* would not the Law of *Retaliation*, nay of Self-preſervation, juſtify? When *Mercy* has been exerciſed in vain, *Juſtice* muſt have her Turn. Thoſe Invaders the *French*, have ſhewn by their Conduct in the *preſent* War, particularly by their Invaſion of *Hanover*, what they would have committed in *England* in the *laſt*, had they ſucceeded in their Attempt at *Culloden*. They are ſaid to have committed ſuch Extravagancies even on their *Friends* the *Saxons*, as the Laws of Nations forbid even with Regard to Enemies. We well know the *affected* Politeneſs of the *French* neither reſtrains *Soldier* nor *Officer*, *General* nor *Monarch*, from the Commiſſion of Cruelties which would *ſhock Savages*. See the Account above given by Dr. *Smollett* of the Commands of *Louis* XIVth rigorouſly executed in the *Palatinate*, *&c.* What we had to fear from a conquering Army of *Highlanders* thus animated by *Precept* and *Example*, any one may eaſily conceive.

of his Country, of ſavage Barbarities in that Expulſion of Invaders, and Reduction of Rebels, for which *Great-Britain*'s Senate has decreed an honorary Revenue of a very conſiderable Sum, as a Teſtimony of his *Virtue* and their *Gratitude!*

The ſame *Tenderneſs* which makes our Hiſtorian the profeſſed *Panegyriſt* of *JAMES* the ſecond and his *pretended* Grandſon, leads him to *bemoan* * the Diſtreſſes of a Tyrant, to whom *JAMES* the ſecond became a *Tool*, and who was the common Enemy of Mankind! Of the preſent *Louis*, (who made the *ſuppoſititious* Grandſon of *James the ſecond* his Tool) our Hiſtorian indeed confeſſes, that all the Accuſations he ſuſtained at the Beginning of the laſt War from the Queen of *Hungary*, for his *enormous Ambition* and *Perfidy*, were LITERALLY TRUE! He has ſaid as much of *Louis* the fourteenth. Yet he laments the Decline of that Tyrant from the Pinnacle of Power *inhumanly* abuſed. If he had extended his Hiſtory to the preſent Time, he would probably have lamented the De-

* See the *very juſt* and ſenſible Reflections of the *monthly Reviewer* above-cited on this Part of our Hiſtorian's Work, *ub. ſup.* p. 296.

Decline of *Louis the* * *fifteenth*, effected under the Auſpices of † *FREDERIC* THE GREAT!

The *critical Reviewers* ſay of our Hiſtorian: "What we *chiefly applaud* is his CANDOR

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* The Epithet, BIEN-AIMÉ', *well-beloved*, given by ſervile Flatterers to this *puiſné* Imitator of *Louis* XIVth, is *more ridiculous*, if poſſible, than that of *Grand*, beſtowed on his great-Grandfather. *Louis* XIVth, was in ſome Senſe GREAT; *Louis* XVth can be *well-beloved* by no Part of his Subjects, whoſe *Happineſs* he ſacrifices to his own *falſe Ambition*.

† The *critical Reviewer* of Art. II. for *February* laſt *invidiouſly* inſinuates, that *Engliſhmen* may in Time be tired of their *boaſted Ally*. We know *who* is *very generally* ſuppoſed at the Head of the *critical Reviewers*. In *one* of their Reviews for the laſt Year, they fall foul on a *blunt Engliſhman* for Want of *Politeneſs* to the *French* Nation, and tell their Readers, 'a *noble Struggle* now exiſts betwixt the Nations.' There cannot be a *more falſe* or *unpatriotic* Declaration than this.—If the *French* contended with us only for Superiority in the *Arts* and *Sciences*, the Contention might be *noble* indeed on both Sides. But when the Conteſt is, whether *Great-Britain* ſhall become a Province to *France*, he who can ſoothe the Foes of his Country by the *Flat-*

DOR and IMPARTIALITY: From which, we think, he has not ONCE *deviated* through the *whole* Courſe of his Hiſtory." Among the Inſtances of *Candor* and *Impartiality* they produce the Character of King *WILLIAM**, and

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Flattery he has learned from *France*, muſt deſerve neither the Name of *Briton* nor of *Man*. *Falſe Politeneſs* is one of the Banes of the preſent Age, and the *French* teach us it greatly to their *Advantage*.—

* It is of the greateſt Conſequence, in order to form a juſt Idea of the Character of King *WILLIAM*, to determine whether he was actuated by the *paltry Ambition* of *wearing* a Crown, or *ſubmitted* to the *Burthen* for the Sake of the *Liberties of Mankind*. Mr. *Ralph* endeavours greatly to eſtabliſh the former Opinion. How *unjuſtly* and *invidiouſly*, has, I hope, appeared from the *long Note* in which I examined all he has advanced on that Subject, ſo far as *then* occurred to me. Since that Time I have obſerved another Paſſage or two of the ſame Tendency in his Iſt. Volume. Leſt it ſhould be ſuppoſed, that I have purpoſely omitted theſe as the moſt difficult to anſwer, I will here beſtow a ſhort Stricture or two upon them. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, that the Prince of *Orange* declared, "Nothing but ſuch a Conſtitution [as the *Engliſh*] could reſiſt a *powerful Aggreſſor long*, or have *the Credit that was neceſſary to raiſe ſuch Sums as a great War might*

and tell us, after a *very elaborate* Eulogium of the whole Work, if they ſhould add more,

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might require." On this Paſſage and what follows, Mr. *Ralph* Remarks, " Thus, *before* the Biſhop of *London*'s Caſe came to a Hearing, while the King's naval Preparations were yet in Embrio, we find it confeſſed, that a *Breach* was in Agitation, and that Thoughts were entertained of ſtretching the *Credit* of this Nation, for the Support of a *great War* on the Continent: And this Remark is *neceſſary* to be made in this Place, that the Reader may be *honeſtly* informed, that in *all* State Experiments there is *ever more* of the *Politician* than the *Patriot*; and that though the Grievances of the People furniſh out the *Pretences* for *all great Changes*, the Redreſs of thoſe Grievances is the *laſt Thing* conſidered of." P. 936. Now the plain Tendency of this Remark is to inſinuate that the Prince had his Eye on the Crown of *England* very early, and made Profeſſions to *Burnet* how he would uſe the *Pretence* of Redreſs of Grievances to draw this Iſland into *ruinous continental* Connexions. But to invalidate this Inſinuation, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that it was *neceſſary* for the Preſervation of *Europe* that *England* ſhould be brought into the Alliance againſt *France*, and therefore it was very *à propos* for the Prince to convince *Burnet* of his Regard to a *free Conſtitution*, by ſhewing its ſtrict Connexion with the *favourite Meaſure* he had adopted, *viz.* the

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more, they *might perhaps* be thought actuated by Partiality for a Colleague. After what they

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ſaving Europe by bringing *England* into the Alliance againſt *France*. Whether *JAMES* was to continue on the Throne of *England* was a Queſtion quite *extraneous* to any Thing here diſcuſſed; and even *Malevolence* cannot *torture* the Words ſo as to give the Appearance of Connexion to the Prince's Declaration here cited, and a Deſign of his on the Crown of *England*. Mr. *Ralph* boaſts here of making an *honeſt Information*. But the Reader who looks juſt above what he calls ſuch, will find that *Burnet* declares, he *perſuaded* the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* effectually, to write to King *JAMES* concerning the Biſhop of *London*. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that he perſuaded them to write to encourage the King to go to Extremities with the Biſhop, as for many other Reaſons, ſo, becauſe, he adds, the Princeſs was afraid the Letter would *irritate* the King againſt them. It appears then, that the Prince, Princeſs, and *Burnet* were engaged in a Scheme to *prevent* a *Breach* at the very Time Mr. *Ralph* ſuppoſes they were ſtudying to effect it.—The ſame Biſhop ſays; "Nothing was *left unſaid* [by *Pen*] that might move him [the Prince of *Orange*] to agree to this [Repeal of the Teſts] in the Way of Intereſt." Hereupon Mr. *Ralph* remarks; "If *Nothing* was *left unſaid*, that might

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they have ſaid, they need be in no Pain for any Thing they *could have* added. Men who

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make the Prince *to agree* with his Majeſty, in the *Way of Intereſt*, it is ſcarce to be ſuppoſed that his *governing Paſſion* to humble *France* was forgot, though it has *ſtept* his Lordſhip." p. 938. It ſeldom happens that a Calumny can be ſo *eaſily* and *thoroughly* confuted as this, which may be *doubly*, 1ſt. on *Suppoſition* that *Pen* did offer that *JAMES* ſhould join againſt *France*; and 2dly. by ſhewing it highly improbable that *Pen* offered any ſuch Thing. As to the 1ſt. the Repeal of the Teſts would have armed the Papiſts, the *natural* Friends of *France*; and conſequently defeated all hopes of a Junction againſt her; and therefore the Prince of *Orange* muſt have been *very* imprudent to *ſwallow* ſo *bare* an *Hook*; and as to the 2d. for this very Reaſon *Pen* was too *ſhrewd* to urge it, becauſe it would have been an Affront to the Underſtanding of the Prince of *Orange*. Beſides, it is evident from the very Expreſſion, " *in the Way of Intereſt*," which Biſhop *Burnet* uſes, that he means what the expreſſion ſtands for in *common* Language, *viz.* the *private Emolument* of the Perſon addreſſed, the *Reſtitution* of *Orange*, &c. not any Thing of *public Intereſt*, the *Intereſt* of *Europe*. To finiſh with Mr. *Ralph* (of whom I know nothing but what appears from his Hiſtory) I am ſorry to ſee in a *profeſſed* Friend

who can cite the Character of King *WILLIAM* as found in this Hiſtorian, as an Inſtance of *Candor* and *Impartiality*, are neither to be *diſputed with* nor *corrected*. Their *Eulogium* is dictated in Terms of ſuch extre.' Fondneſs, it would be *much more* natural to eſteem it the *hearty Effuſion* of the Author *himſelf* than of *any* Colleague in *another* literary Production. It deſerves Notice, however, that in the printed half Sheet, given about to allure People to a Subſcription to a ſecond Edition of *this* Hiſtory, this Eulogium is retailed, but without any Mention of the Performance whence it is extracted. The Reader then is left at *Liberty* to ſuppoſe it the Work of the Hiſtorian *himſelf*. Are we to aſcribe the Suppreſſion of the Name of the Work whence this *Eulogium* is taken, to the Hiſtorian's *Modeſty*, which would not allow him to inform the World *expreſly*, that he had the Honour of being patronized by the *critical Reviewers*; or to his *Prudence*, which ſuggeſted a Panegyric from Men with whom he is *cloſely connected*

Friend of *Freedom*, ſuch Chicanery and Sophiſtry as would characterize a Son of *Loyola*.

nected, muſt appear ſuſpicious to *impartial* Readers? One Inſtance of *Prudence* he or his *Bookſeller* has *undoubtedly* given, *viz.* the Suppreſſion of the Character of King *WILLIAM* in the *gratis* half Sheet.

Great Numbers, doubtleſs, who knew the Work contained ſuch a *Carricature*, would not think they could, conſiſtently with their Duty to their *King*, their *Country*, and their *Religion*, contribute to the Encouragement of it.

The following *flagrant* Sentence in the *Eulogium* attracts my Eye: "HE TAKES ALL OCCASIONS TO DECLARE HIMSELF AN ADVOCATE FOR THE NATURAL RIGHTS OF MANKIND, WITHOUT ADOPTING THE BARBAROUS MAXIMS OF AN ENTHUSIASTIC REPUBLICAN."

What Kind of Advocate he is of the *natural Rights* of *Mankind*, I have clearly ſhewn above. He is the *Friend*——No! He is the *Slave* of *arbitrary Power*. It would be *unnatural* to expect ſuch an one ſhould adopt the *barbarous Maxims* of an *enthuſiaſtic Republican*. Yet (behold!) all Kinds of Contradictions ſeem *naturally* to ſubſiſt in our Hiſ-

torian. He exclaims, * " The Zeal of the Parliament towards their *Deliverer* ſeems to have over-ſhot their Attachment to their own *Liberty* and *Privileges*: Or at leaſt they neglected the faireſt Opportunity that ever occurred, to retrench thoſe *Prerogatives* of the Crown,

* As the *monthly Reviewers* above referred to aſſerts, theſe are the Words of Lord *Sommers*. Be they his words; *amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, magis amica veritas. Power*, wherever depoſited by Society, may be dangerous to it; and *public Virtue* is the great Principle of a *Commonweal*. Nothing but the Manners of a People ſuſtain it. Whoever attempts to eſtabliſh one, in *fæce populi Romani*, will probably have *Anarchy* inſtantly, and then *many Tyrants*. *England* had experienced the bad Effects of ſuch an Attempt ſo lately, that it would have been an *unpardonable Error* to repeat the Experiment. See on the Subject of a Commonweal, the *Principles* and *Manners* on which it muſt be built, thoſe two excellent Authors, of *L'Eſprit des Loix*, and *The Eſtimate of the Principles and Manners of the preſent Age*. Let me add, if what Mr. *Hume* aſſerts be true, *viz.* that the r—l Aſſent is become a Matter of *mere Form*, it is more neceſſary than heretofore that the King ſhould have Powers to create a Party, which may be a Balance to the other two Parts of the Legiſlature. See his Eſſays.

Crown, to which they imputed all the *late* and *former* Calamities of the Kingdom. Their *new* Monarch retained the *old regal* Power over Parliaments in its full Extent. He was left at Liberty to *convoke*, *adjourn*, *prorogue* and *diſſolve* them at his Pleaſure. He was inabled to *influence* Elections and *oppreſs* Corporations. He poſſeſſed the Right of chuſing his own Council, of nominating all the great Officers of the State and of the Houſhold, of the Army, the Navy, and the Church. He reſerved the *abſolute* Command of the *Militia*: So that he remained Maſter of *all* the *Inſtruments* and *Engines* of *Corruption* and *Violence*, without any other Reſtraint than his own *Moderation*. B. VIII. C. I. §. I.

Every Power which the Hiſtorian here enumerates as *blameably* left to King *WILLIAM* at the *Revolution*, is what the *long* Parliament are juſtly *branded* with *Infamy*

* Mr. *Hume*, who appears to me not a *Jacobite* but a *Republican*, confeſſes, that the Power of beſtowing Places on Members of the Houſe of Commons (the moſt exceptionable of thoſe here enumerated) cannot be taken from the King without

for Endeavours to wreſt from *Charles* the firſt; and which, whenever wreſted from a Monarch, muſt deſtroy *Monarchy* in every thing but *Name*. Is it not amazing that a Man, who elſewhere declares himſelf a violent Partiſan for Monarchy, even before its Limits were at the *Revolution* preſcribed in the *Petition of Right*, ſhould here adopt the Sentiment of a *Republican?* Can we reconcile this *glaring Contradiction* otherwiſe than by ſaying, 'The Hiſtorian is ambitious of *wreſting* every *Jewel* of *Prerogative* from the *Crown*, when it appears on the Head of a Prince he diſlikes?'

Hitherto, for Diſtinction's Sake, the Author of the '*complete Hiſtory of England*,' and Dr. *Smollett*, have been conſidered as different Perſons, though it is well known they are *one* Perſon. Some Reader may *probably* aſk, 'How can this *Vindicator* reconcile to common Senſe the Conduct he charges the Hiſtorian with? Since the Paſſages taken in the Senſe the *Vindicator* gives them,

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out deſtroying *the Balance of the Parts of the Conſtitution*, as the Commons by the Power of granting Money would otherwiſe oppreſs the other two Parts. See his Eſſays.

them, contain *moſt palpable* * *Contradictions*, is it not reaſonable to conclude, that the *Hiſtorian*, *famous for his Abilities*, intended them in ſome other Senſe conſiſtent with each other?' I anſwer; 'If Dr. *Smollett*, or any Body elſe *who will tell his* † *Name*, will ſhew a Senſe reſulting from the *general* Rules of Interpretation, which will make the Paſſages conſiſtent, I will publickly retract my Charge ſo far as the Paſſages thus reconciled affect it. Till that Time, I muſt be allowed to offer the *fulleſt* and *cleareſt* Conviction which can be given of any Author's Calumnies, *the Teſtimony of his own Mouth!*

Dr. *Smollett* ſeems never to have given himſelf the Trouble of a Thought about acquiring or maintaining the Character of Conſiſtency; and it ſeems now much too late to attempt to eſtabliſh it.

However, as the *candid* Reader may be deſirous of knowing how I account for theſe

* Of this Hiſtorian one may juſtly ſay, "Quo "teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?" The Subſtance of the Anſwer in *Homer* may be here applied, *viz*, "Hold him faſt, and oblige him to ſpeak Truth." See *Odyſſ.* B. IVth.

† I ſay with *Ajax*,—αὐδὴ φάσι κ᾽ ὄλεσσον.

flagrant Inconſiſtencies in Dr. *Smollett*, ſufficient to blaſt the Character of any Author of otherwiſe the *higheſt* Reputation, and ſeldom found in this Degree even in thoſe of the *loweſt*, he has a Right to my Opinion, which is as follows. Dr. *Smollett* appears, from *ſtrong* and *expreſs* Paſſages above alledged to be a *determined Partiſan* of the Houſe of *Stuart*, and on numerous Occaſions to give Vent to their malevolent Spirit in the moſt furious Effuſions. But then the Force of * Truth is very great; and we have many Inſtances of Men acting in Contradiction to their *avowed* and *generally-ruling* Principles. The more abſurd any Principles are, the more *reaſonably* may we expect that *common* Senſe will, on many Occaſions, get the better of them. None can be more abſurd than thoſe of the Partiſans of the *ſuppoſed* Deſcendants of *JAMES* the ſecond. Hence therefore may we *perhaps* account for *ſome* of the Declarations on the Side of *Liberty*. However, it is no wiſe uncharitable to ſuppoſe, that *moſt*, if not *all* of them, are to be aſcribed to the immediate Intereſt

* *Magna vis eſt Veritatis, & prævalebit ſemper*, ſays *Tully*.

Intereſt of the *Hiſtorian*. Though he affected to conſider the whole Nation as *Jacobitiſh* not long ago, he well knows this is not the Caſe of the preſent Times; and if he was to depend for a *Subſcription* on the Friends of an *abjured Family*, he muſt have a ſhort Liſt.

But from whatever *Principles* we are to account for theſe inconſiſtent *Declarations*, after what we have ſeen on the Side of Diſaffection to the *preſent happy Eſtabliſhment*, we are at no Loſs to account for ſeveral Paſſages in a former Volume, which before Dr. *Smollett* took off the Maſk in *this laſt*, juſtly ſurpriſed the candid Reader. Thus he decreed, * that the *Papiſts* had no Hand

* He tells us (B. VII. C. I. §. XXXIX.) "It does not appear how ſuch a Scheme [as the Fire of *London*] *could* contribute to the Intereſt of" the *popiſh* Party. Yet ſurely the Hiſtory of *Popery* informs us, that its Votaries have *continually ſchemed*, and, to the utmoſt of their Power, *executed* whatever would ſeem to contribute to the *Confuſion* and *Ruin* of *Heretics*, even though ſome of their own Friends *muſt* fall with them. Witneſs the *Gun-powder Plot*, &c. He adds: "The Parliament appointed a Committee to make a *ſevere Scrutiny*

in the Fire of *London*; that there was no *Papiſh Plot*, emphatically ſo called, in the latter

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tiny on this Subject; but NOTHING APPEARED; yet this Miſchief is charged upon them in the Inſcription ingraved on the Pillar that was *erected* as a Monument of this Calamity." *ibid.* This is a *bold begging the Queſtion*, and as *ſuch* deſerves no Notice. It is an Inſult on the great Repreſentative of his Country thus to condemn their Proceedings without aſſigning any reaſon. Whoever impartially looks into the Report of the Committee of LXXII Perſons, will, I think, ſee much to juſtify the Inſcription *ingraved* by the Command of Parliament, erazed by *JAMES* the ſecond, and reſtored under *WILLIAM* and *MARY*. A Poet, a *profeſſed Papiſt*, has indeed, under the *gentle Government* of a *GEORGE*, called the Monument, on Account of this Inſcription,

" *A tall Bully which rears* " *its Head and lies.*"

What *may* be excuſed in the *Poet*, *muſt* not in the *Hiſtorian*. I muſt add on this Subject, that the Detection of the Firing an Houſe in *London* ſoon after this great Fire, by the Inſtigation of *Papiſts*, (againſt which, nothing, as far as I know, has been objected by their Friends) is to me the *ſtrongeſt* Confirmation of this *general Charge*. In the Report of the Committee to inquire into the *Increaſe of Popery*, in the Year 1666, we have the fol-

latter End of *Charles* the ſecond's Reign; and that the *Pretender* was certainly the Son of

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following Paſſage. "*H. Young* informed, that about *April* 1661, being in the *Jeſuits College* in *Antwerp*, one *Powel*, an *Engliſh* Jeſuit, perſuaded him to turn a *Roman Catholic*, and ſaid, that "if he intended to ſave his Life and Eſtate, he had beſt turn ſo, for within ſeven Years he ſhould ſee all *England* of that *Religion*." *Young* replied, that "the City of *London* would never endure it." *Powel* anſwered, that "within five or ſix Years, they would BREAK THE POWER AND STRENGTH OF LONDON IN PIECES, and that they had been contriving it theſe twenty Years, and that if *Young* did live, he ſhould ſee it done." So that it ſeems, *Papiſts* might be actuated to this horrid Attempt not only by *Revenge* but *Policy*. The Mention of five or ſix Years is remarkable!—Our Hiſtorian calls *Hubert*, who was hanged on his Confeſſion of ſetting Fire to the City, an *Huguenot*, though the Report expreſsly ſays, he *called* himſelf ſuch, but *really was* a *Papiſt*, and *died one*. Is this *Ignorance*, or *wilful Miſrepreſentation*? one cannot doubt. As to his Appearance of Madneſs, we know it uſed by *many Villains* to eſcape Puniſhment: And, according to the *Report* of the *Committee*, on this very Occaſion by *ſome*. As to the Depoſition of a Ship-Maſter, that *Hubert* was not then in *England*, ſince

of King *JAMES* the ſecond and his Queen. He has *decreed* this not after an *accurate* and *labo-*

ſince unſupported by that of his Sailors, it may be either the Effect of *Miſtake* or *Bribery*, eſpecially as the *Report* aſſures us, *Hubert*, when carried by the Goaler, *knew exactly* the Place where the Fire began, and could not be perſuaded to fix on any other.—With Regard to the *popiſh* Plot, the Hiſtorian exclaims: "The humane Reader cannot without Horror reflect upon the *Fate* of theſe *unhappy* Perſons, who fell a *Sacrifice* to the *ſavage Prejudice* of the Multitude, excited by the Villany of the *moſt abandoned Miſcreants*, and inflamed by the Arts of a *malignant Faction*. By this Time, however, the People began to be *gorged with Blood*. The Rage of their Reſentment had exhauſted itſelf. The *Proteſtations*, the *Compoſure*, and *pious Deportment* of the Sufferers made Impreſſion upon the Minds of *all* who retained the leaſt Sentiment of *Humanity*; and now they began to reflect upon the Characters of the *Informers*, and the Abſurdities of their *Informations*." B. VII. C. III. §. XXIV. I have elſwhere ſhewn, that no Regard is to be had to the *Proteſtations* of *dying Men*, whoſe *Compoſure* is owing to that *Enthuſiaſm* which *Popery* gives, and this Hiſtorian calls *pious Deportment*. The Characters of the *Informers* are ſuch as we might reaſonably ſuppoſe Men's would be who are engaged

laborious Examination of whatever has been advanced on either Side, but in the *moſt ſum-*

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ged in ſuch Plots, and from whom *alone* we can *generally* expect the Detection of them. But if it be acknowledged that the Plotters were proſecuted with too much Violence, while the Evidence of their Guilt depended on the Teſtimony of the *original* Witneſſes; yet the Murther of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* (which our Hiſtorian owns, appears to have been effected by *popiſh* Prieſts, and to which they ſeem to have no Motive but what aroſe from his Taking the Depoſitions againſt the Plotters) is, to all *impartial* Minds, a Confirmation of that *original* Plot. As the Hiſtorian has not *particularly* mentioned the Abſurdities in the Depoſitions, he cannot reaſonably expect any Regard ſhould be paid to a *bold general* Aſſertion. It may perhaps be ſaid, that the Murther of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* did not *delay* the Proſecution of the Plot. It may be anſwered, that the Papiſts are known to be actuated by *Revenge* on numberleſs Occaſions againſt the *innocent* Inſtruments of their Detection. Let us here take Notice, that Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* had been knighted by the King for his Zeal in extinguiſhing the Fire of *London*; ſo that if *Papiſts* had an Hand in that Devaſtation, they may more probably be ſuſpected concerned in this Aſſaſſination. The Hiſtorian thinks it hard, that no Regard was paid to

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mary and *peremptory*, nay *inſolent* Manner; in ſhort, after *no Examination at all*. He treats

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the Depoſitions of ſeveral *young Gentlemen* of *good Families*. The *Goodneſs of their Families* is out of the Queſtion; and their *Youth* made them *juſtly* ſuſpected the *Tools* of a *Society* which makes the Art of *Equivocation* its *Glory*, and exacts Obedience the *moſt implicit* from its Diſciples. On the Whole; I do not ſay, that if I had been a Jury-Man I ſhould have condemned the Perſons accuſed of this Plot on the Evidence of the Witneſſes; but only, that the *Falſehood* of their Accuſation is by no Means ſo *palpable* as to juſtify the *contemptuous* Manner in which our Hiſtorian treats the Proſecution; eſpecially when it is known, that the *truly-great* and *candid*, not *enthuſiaſtic*, Lord *Ruſſel*, declared with his dying Breath, that he believed the *accuſed guilty*.

With Regard to the *Pretender*'s Birth, the Hiſtorian ſays: "Forty Witneſſes were produced, and, as far as the Nature of the Caſe would permit, aſcertained the Queen's Delivery to the Satisfaction of EVERY UNPREJUDICED Hearer; but *great Part* of the Nation were INCAPABLE of CONVICTION." *Ub. ſup.* C. IV. §. XL. Now as all theſe Witneſſes were Dependants of a *popiſh* Court, no Regard can *juſtly* be paid to Aſſertions which reſt *ſolely* on their Credit, eſpecially in a Matter in which themſelves were ſo *much intereſted*; and which appears ſo full of Fraud on every Side.

The

treats all Perſons who diſſent from him on theſe Heads with the moſt groundleſs Contempt,

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The Witneſſes were *ſeventeen Proteſtants*, and *twenty-three Papiſts*. Archdeacon *Echard* ſays; "The greateſt Part of them [Depoſitions] by Reaſon of the *Cloſeneſs* of the Queen's Bed, and other *Accidents*, were but *very little* to the Purpoſe; and ſcarcely more than if the Deponents had been in another Room. Some few of them were *more circumſtantial* and *very home to the Purpoſe*; particularly what was ſworn concerning the Milk ſeen in the Queen's Breaſt, and what was depoſed by her Midwife, Nurſe and Laundreſs, concerning her *actual* Delivery, her Condition at that Time, and the Prince of *Wales* being the *very ſame* Child." (*Hiſt. Revolution*, p. 147.) Here I muſt obſerve, that the Depoſitions moſt to the Purpoſe, are given by the *Midwife*, *Nurſe*, &c. who were *Papiſts*. As to Milk, *proteſtant* Ladies thought they *ſaw* it on the Queen's Shift, &c. which, as well as other Things, might be ſeen without proceeding from the Queen's Body. One need not conſult all the *proteſtant* Nurſes in *England*, as our Hiſtorian reproaches Biſhop *Burnet* with having done, to know whether it is more probable that the Queen had Milk ſome conſiderable Time *before Delivery*, or none left *three* days after. No tolerably ſatisfactory Account can be given of the *Need* of a Warming-

tempt, as *Tools* of *Faction*; and yet when he deſigns to *hint* any Reaſons in Support of his

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ing-Pan in *June*. In ſhort, the *proteſtant* Witneſſes may have been *Dupes*, the *popiſh* ones appear *Knaves*. *JAMES* ſhould have ſhewn that *Papiſts* in general, and *Jeſuits* in particular, (his Guides, his Brethren) do not command their Devotees to ſacrifice *all*, even the Affections of *Nature*, to the Intereſts of *Rome*, before he expected Credit to his Aſſertion, that "He would die a thouſand Deaths rather than *wrong* his Children." If his Queen really had a Daughter afterwards, this Circumſtance *only* ſhews, that they were miſtaken who thought ſhe could have no Child—The Hiſtorian indeed tells us, the *Circumſtances* on which the Opinion of the *Pretender*'s Illegitimacy was founded, were "*inconſiſtent*, *contradictory*, and *inconcluſive*;" (*Ub. ſup.* p. 531) and, in a Note, charges Biſhop *Burnet* with Inconſiſtency, in his Account of the Matter. The Biſhop's Zeal might hurry him too far. Every Step in the whole Tranſaction of this Affair by the Court was ſo very ſuſpicious, it is no Wonder one ſo well acquainted with the Frauds of *Popery* in *general*, and *JAMES*'s Court in *particular*, as the Biſhop, ſhould ſuſpect, wherever Appearances juſtified Suſpicion. *Reaſon*, which can *only* judge from Appearances, may ſuſpect *Frauds* where they are not. But it does not follow, that where a Perſon is charged with *inconſiſtent* Frauds, he is guilty of neither

his Opinion, they are the *moſt weak* and *ridiculous*.

For

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neither. The Inference from the *Whole* may not be *concluſive* as in Matters of ſtrict *Demonſtration*, yet ſufficiently ſo as in Matters of *moral Evidence*. The Hiſtorian aſſerts, with great Confidence, "*Certain* it is, the *Pride* and *haughty Diſpoſition* of *JAMES* and his Queen hindered them from taking ſuch Precautions as would have *prevented* or *effectually diſproved* this Calumny." *Ibid.* Now nothing is here CERTAIN, but that the Queſtion is *ſcandalouſly* begged; and no Motive can be more *unſatisfactory* and *falſe* than that here aſſigned for the Conduct of *JAMES* and his Queen. *Bigotry*, not *Pride*, was the principal Characteriſtic of this Couple; and it muſt have been ſuch Pride as appears not in human Nature, which could overcome both *natural Affection* and *Bigotry*, which could ſacrifice the *Intereſts* of an *only Son*, if born, and thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, to fooliſh Caprice! It was ſo obvious, that a Conduct like that which *JAMES*'s Court obſerved, muſt lead the Nation to conclude any Son *produced*, *ſuppoſititious*, that it cannot be doubted but *they muſt have ſeen* and *would have avoided* it, had they not *determined* a Son ſhould be *produced*; and then '*valeat quantum va-*'*lere poteſt*.' The Prophecies of the Prieſts that there would be a *Prince*, are the ſtrongeſt Preſumption

For my own Part, as I have no *perſonal* Acquaintance with Dr. *Smollett*, or any of his

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tion of a formed Deſign. The ſingle Circumſtance of not admitting the Princeſs of *Denmark* ſo nearly concerned, and then on good Terms with the Queen, ever to feel the Size of her Body, or ſee her Milk at three Days after the *ſuppoſed* Delivery, will, in the Opinion of every *impartial* Examiner, far out-weigh every Thing that can be produced by way of *after Game*. I will add three Reflections on this Subject. The Firſt is; 'Nothing can be more abſurd than the Hiſtorian's Concluſion; Whigs ſuſpected *JAMES*'s Court of a Deſign of Subornation *before*, therefore *theſe* were not guilty of it afterwards.' The Second is; '*JAMES* carried away the principal Witneſſes from a Kingdom where they could not be afraid of Torture, and then reproached *WILLIAM* with not examining them.' The laſt is; 'Dr. *Aſhton*, late Maſter of *Jeſus-College*, *Cambridge*, though always thought a Tory, confeſſed he believed the *Pretender* ſuppoſititious, as I am told, and he had good Opportunities of knowing the Truth on this Subject.

Let us for a Moment obſerve the different Route which have been taken to exculpate the ſuppoſed *popiſh* Plotters of the Charge of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*'s Death. Mr. *North* labours to prove, that this Gentleman was *murthered* by the *Proteſtants*. But this

his Brethren the *critical Reviewers*, I have treated them here, as I ought, *only* as Authors.

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this Attempt is ſo abſurd, that Sir *Roger L'Eſtange* labours to prove, he *murthered* himſelf. This Deſign is alſo ſo abſurd, that Dr. *Smollett* confeſſes he was murthered by *Papiſts*. The Friendſhip in which he had lived with that Party, and the good Offices he had done them, are urged as Proofs that *they* could not kill him, by moſt of the Apologiſts for the Papiſts. And yet ſince Dr. *Smollett* owns, that he was killed by *them*, this *Friendſhip* and theſe *good Offices* ſhew, that he could be killed by them on no other Account than his Taking the Depoſitions, which outweighed in their Opinion the Merit of his former Services.—Any *impartial* Perſon will judge that the *Prophecy* of this unhappy Gentleman, that "He ſhould receive no Thanks for his Pains in taking the Depoſitions, and that he ſhould be the *firſt Martyr*," admits of no other reaſonable Interpretation, than that "he ſhould *receive no Thanks from* the Court, which he knew popiſhly affected, and ſhould be made a *Martyr* by the Papiſts;" and yet even Mr. *Ralph* would perſuade us by ſtrong Aſſertion, unſupported by *one* Reaſon, that this *Victim* meant he ſhould be *martyred* by the *Proteſtants*. After all, though it ſeems highly probable that Sir *E. Godfrey* was murdered by *Papiſts*, upon Account of his taking Depoſitions about the Plot, there remains a Veil of Myſtery over this

thors. If I have expreſſed an *honeſt Indignation* of their Attempts againſt the *beſt Conſtitution* and *King* in the World, I have, I hope, kept within the Bounds of good Breeding, and employed none of that Virulence againſt them, which they have exerciſed againſt the *moſt reſpectable* Characters. I am not untaught by *Experience*, that the avowed Friend of *Truth* and *Liberty* muſt expect to encounter the utmoſt Malevolence of the Enemies of both. I *humbly hope* I am prepared to *bear*, nay to *glory* in it. I ſhall however always appeal to the *Public* from the Tribunal of thoſe *aſſuming* and *unmerciful Inquiſitors* the *critical Reviewers*. As I am not aſhamed to put my Name to what I write, I expect that any who anſwer me do

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Affair as to the *particular* Perſons concerned in the Murder. For *Bedloe*'s and *Prance*'s Depoſitions are *utterly irreconcileable*; and all I intend by theſe Remarks, is to confirm my Aſſertion in the Text, *viz.* that if Dr. *Smollett* had not been a *violent Partizan* of *Popery* and *Jacobitiſm*, he would not have treated the Firing of *London*, the *popiſh* Plot, the Birth of the Pretender, *&c.* in the *dictatorial* Manner he has done.

do the ſame. If the Friends of our Conſtitution honour me with their Approbation, I ſhall rejoice; if not, I ſhall enjoy the Approbation of my own Conſcience, that, uninfluenced by the Proſpect of *Earthly Honours* or *Emoluments*, I wield the Pen in that Cauſe which I believe *Truth*'s and *Liberty*'s.

To *end* where the Hiſtorian *begins* his laſt Volume, with his *Motto* and *Frontiſpiece*. What are the * *preſent good Things* our Hiſtorian rejoices to enumerate? In the Concluſion of his Work, having deſcribed what *Great-Britain* might have been, he exclaims: "How different is her preſent Situation! her Debts are *enormous*, her Taxes *intolerable*, her People *diſcontented*, and the *Sinews* of her Government *relaxed*. Without *Conduct*, *Confidence*, or *Concert*, ſhe engages in *blundering Negotiations*; ſhe involves herſelf *raſhly* in foreign Quarrels, and *laviſhes* her *Subſtance* with the moſt dangerous Precipitation. She is even deſerted by her wonted *Vigour*, *Steadineſs*, and *Intrepidity*; ſhe

* His Motto is: *Non tamen pigebit vel* inconditâ *ac rudi voce Memoriam prioris ſervitutis ac teſtimonium præſentium bonorum compoſuiſſe.* TACIT.

grows *vain*, *fantaſtical*, and *puſillanimous*; her *Arms* are *deſpiſed* by her Enemies, and her *Councils ridiculed* through all Chriſtendom." B. IX. C. IX. §. XVII.

How flagrant an Inconſiſtence betwixt the Motto and this Picture to which it is to be applied, unleſs we underſtand the Hiſtorian to wield the pointed Weapon of delicate *Attic Irony*! However, it deſerves to be remarked, that his Hiſtory is dedicated to the *Right Honourable William Pitt*, Eſquire, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State. What a Compliment reſults from this Picture of the Nation, at whoſe Councils Mr. *Pitt* ſo *eminently* and *deſervedly* preſides, a Perſon of even ſmall Delicacy may perceive. On the Whole: If we are to explain the Frontiſpiece on the apparently genuine Principles of the Hiſtorian, we muſt underſtand that the ROMAN VIRTUE which invites *Great-Britain* to LIBERTY, is POPERY which comes from ROME, and OPENS and IMPROVES the VIRTUES of the Heart! FOLLY and IGNORANCE properly pourtrayed in this Frontiſpiece by CHILDHOOD are buſy to *rend* the ARCH of our CONSTITUTION. And I believe no impartial Reader doubts but *many*

Sheets

Sheets of " *the complete Hiſtory of England*" may to this Purpoſe be ſucceſsfully applied. How the HERCULES of LIBERTY will ſucceed in his Attack on FACTION, I pretend not to *prophecy*. But of all *Faſtioniſts* he moſt deſerves to feel this *Herculean* Club, who continually changes his *Maſque* to prevent CONCORD's leading BRITAIN to LIBERTY.

YORK, *April* 10, 1758.

The E N D.

Things as they Are.

[Price Two Shillings.]

THINGS

AS THEY

ARE.

Quæ Tempora! Quæ Potentiæ ludibria!

ERYC. PUTEAN.

The THIRD EDITION, corrected.

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THINGS as they ARE.

THE Spirit of the Public, and eſpecially of a Britiſh Public, has been always ſo favorable to thoſe who venture to lay before it their ſentiments on the ſtate of its affairs, as might alone be a ſufficient inducement, even without taking into the account the honor itſelf of the taſk.

Truth, or but the aim at truth, unadulterated with ſelfiſhneſs, partiality, or factious views, of which that Public has too piercing a diſcernment, for mere pretence to eſcape, is ſure to find not only approbation but even protection from it. Nor is this its diſpoſition, entirely undeſerved. Flattery itſelf cannot, with all its art, aſſume a more delicate ſhape than that of the repreſentation of truths foreknown not to be agreeable to thoſe to whom they are repreſented, and yet for all that offered or even obtruded upon them. This ſuppoſes in them not only the rare juſtice of a candid acceptance, but the yet rarer good ſenſe of profiting by truth, when made

appear to them, even though themſelves had not been the firſt to diſcover it, through thoſe clouds of paſſions or of artful deſign, which ſo often obſcure it.

Even where ſuch repreſentations fail of immediate conviction, they cannot be entirely without a good effect, if they no more than raiſe a ſalutary doubt. He who never doubts, never examines. At leaſt they can offend none but the paſſive ſlaves of prejudice, who prefer the implicitneſs of credulity or ignorance to the active reſearch of their own reaſon; and would rather continue ruinouſly miſtaken, than be unpleaſingly undeceived. To underſtandings of this ſtamp, Truth would, in vain and even dangerouſly, hold out her torch, ſure, for her reward, to have it daſhed in her face. It is not for ſuch as theſe, that either reaſon or experience were made. The opinion of millions of them, cannot outweigh even but the hope of pleaſing or enlightening one man of ſenſe and, in courſe, of candor. And ſure no time ever called more powerfully for a fair and juſt diſquiſition into things than the preſent one, when the moſt pernicious falſities are careſſed

careſſed as friends, and the moſt wholeſome truths voted enemies to this country, of which whatever may be its inclination, its intereſt it can never be to remain ignorant or even in doubt. Public miſtakes are always public misfortunes, and like misfortunes too rarely come alone; error follows upon error, *ut unda ſuper venit undam.* But the danger is ſtill greater, and the leſs apt to be diſcerned or retrieved, when ſuch miſtakes are built upon the moſt laudable and moſt virtuous of all foundations, the love of country; and are more-over induſtriouſly fomented by ſuch men of Power as are eſteemed its friends. Some of them are perhaps ſincerely ſo, and deſerve therefore no reproach, but that of incapacity or want of penetration. Such too are admirable tools to thoſe who knowing better, have views diſtinct from that of the national intereſt, and draw much better ſervice from them, than if theſe their co-operators were in the ſecret of what they the more ſucceſsfully employ themſelves in perſuading others, from themſelves being perſuaded.

The following ſheets then are not impudently meant to ſet up a private opinion

in oppoſition to the public authority of thoſe great and wiſe ſtateſmen, at preſent ſo happily and ſo glorioufly in charge with the conduct of the Britiſh ſyſtem, if any ſuch ſyſtem there exiſts; but purely to ſtate matters of fact, ſo as to put every one into a way of exerciſing his own judgment upon them, with a requeſt to every reader, which ſurely will not appear a very immodeſt one, of his not preferring any man's reaſon to his own, nor any prejudices he may have imbibed, to his own convictions of truth.

But as it is abſolutely neceſſary to the aſcertainment of things as they are, to know what they have been; a ſummary recapitulation of precedent tranſactions will not improperly, nor, is it to be hoped, tedioufly clear the way.

Nothing is more ſuſceptible of the moſt evident demonſtration than that Britain was in her own moſt juſt defence forced into the preſent war with France. Stabbed at in her vitals in America, ſhe was either obliged to acquieſce ſupinely in the French manifold invaſions there, or to put a ſtop to them, by repelling the aggreſſion with a com-

a commencement of hoſtilities. An immediate declaration of war would perhaps have been more conſonant to the eſtabliſhed forms of practice; but ſince the French themſelves had not paid any reſpect to them in their own procedure, they could at leaſt with the worſe grace complain of our having followed the bad example they had ſet us, and which was not the leſs real for its being the leſs manifeſt to the reſt of Europe, from the remoteneſs and obſcurity of the parts where they inconteſtably began their aggreſſion.

In this imminent and actual ſtate of war, it was but natural for our court to look out for allies, and to look out for them eſpecially amongſt thoſe powers the moſt united to us by the ties of mutual intereſt or good offices. At the head of theſe, doubtleſs appeared to ſtand, the queen of Hungary, naturally the enemy to France, and in courſe, a friend to Britain. Unhappily her poſition was too critical with reſpect both to France and to Pruſſia, for her to declare for us. Nay, her direct declaration in our favor at that time, muſt have been not only pregnant with the utmoſt danger to herſelf,

herſelf, but have been the very worſt offices ſhe could do us. It was even highly impolitic to deſire it: the reaſon is obvious. No one can doubt, but from the inſtant of ſuch a declaration, France would have eaſily engaged Pruſſia to join with her, which would have produced a more formidable union, than even that of Auſtria with France, of which we ſo bitterly complain; with what reaſon will ſoon be ſeen. It was ſaid beſides, that on our firſt overture, ſhe had acquired too exorbitant a conſideration for her joining with us. This is far from improbable: the houſe of Auſtria was never celebrated for its moderation towards us on that head.

Our court however ſenſible of the delicacy of the queen of Hungary's ſituation, reſpectively to Pruſſia, was, or ſeemed ſatisfied with her excuſe. It proceeded next to negotiate the march of a Ruſſian army into Germany. The propoſal was no ſooner made to Ruſſia, than eagerly accepted. Nothing could more co-incide with her actual views. That court had not only for a fixt object, the getting a footing in the empire, but the Czarina herſelf had entertained

tertained a perſonal animoſity againſt the king of Pruſſia. She was then to be enabled and paid with our own money, for doing the very thing on which her heart was moſt ſet. This march was concerted to anſwer two intentions; that of covering Hanover from the threatned invaſion of the French, and of taking away, or at leaſt of leſſening the queen of Hungary's apprehenſions from the king of Pruſſia, who might be ſaid to be encamped on her frontiers with a formidable army ready for action. Encamped is no improper term here, ſince his dominions were all over one incampment, of which his own court of Potſdam, was the general quarters.

This Prince however, with his uſual penetration, ſoon got notice of the treaty, and of the terms of it; which plainly ſhewed its being levelled againſt himſelf. If it may be ſaid of him that he dreaded any power, it was that of Ruſſia. He knew how ill he ſtood at that court, he knew its views upon Germany, or rather upon thoſe of his dominions that lay the moſt convenient for its invaſion. He knew that its ſtanding maxim is to TAKE and HOLD.

Alarmed

Alarmed then, he could think of no better expedient for defeating the Ruſſian intentions, than offering his alliance to his Britannic Majeſty, the principal condition of which was to keep out all foreign troops from entering the empire, in which the French were principally meant, though out of remains of tenderneſs to them, not ſpecifically named.

There exiſted two preponderant reaſons for accepting this offer, built on two very powerful motives with mankind, hope and fear. Hope, that lying ſo much nearer and more convenient for covering Hanover, with ſo great a ſtrength as he commanded, that that great and capital point would be better provided for, than by the alliance with Ruſſia: Fear, that on a rejection of his propoſal, Hanover might ſuffer from him, as he was very capable of ſerving it in the ſame manner, as he has done Saxony ſince. Power he undoubtedly had, and no-one can think, that he would have wanted pretences.

Our court came accordingly into his propoſals. This implicitly annulled the material part to Ruſſia of the treaty ſo recently made with it. The Czarina could not but think herſelf

herſelf groſly trifled with, and reſented it accordingly. The alienation of that government from our nation may be dated from that time; and is not perhaps one of the leaſt diſadvantages incurred for the ſake of the ſafety of Hanover.

But the Britiſh intereſt was ſacrificed in vain. That no regard for this nation had any the leaſt ſhare in that firſt famous treaty of February 1756, with Pruſſia; not the conſequences alone have ſhewn; but the expreſs declaration of his Pruſſian Majeſty made to the French king, through his miniſter the duke de Nivernois, juſt after the ſignature of it. " * That he *flattered* him-

C " ſelf

* Qu'il ſe flatoit de lui avoir rendu un ſervice très diſtingué, en ſeparant, comme il avoit fait, l'Autriche de l'alliance de l'Angleterre; que loin d'avoir gêné ſes operations contres les anglois, il lui avoit donné plus de facilitè de les pouſſer avec vigueur; qu'il avoit arrêté les Ruſſes alors leurs ennemis communs, et extrêment fortifiè par là la ligue des princes de l'empire, qu'il ne s'agiſſoit plus que de reformer le projet de porter la guerre dans l'electorat d'Hanover, changement dans le plán d'operations militaires d'autant plus facile, que la guarantie des Païs bans n'étoit pas compriſe dans celle de cet electorat. *(Etat Actuel des affaires de l'Allemagne.)*

" ſelf with having done him (the French " king) a *moſt diſtinguiſhed ſervice*, in de- " taching, as he had done, *Auſtria* from " the *alliance* of *England*; that ſo far from " cramping his operations *againſt* the *Eng-* " *liſh*, he had procured him a greater *fa-* " *cility* to *puſh them with* vigor: that he " had ſtopped the *Ruſſians*, their *then* com- " mon enemies, and thereby extremely for- " tified the league of the princes of the " empire: that he (the French king) had " now nothing to do but to alter his pro- " ject of carrying the war into the electo- " rate of Hanover, a change in the plan " of military operations ſo much the more " eaſy, for that the *guarantee* of the *Low-* " *Countries*, was not included in that of the " electorate."

This extract from a Pamphlet, entitled, *The Actual State of Affairs in Germany*, publiſhed about that time, though never yet refuted, and then univerſally believed, and even in England, would not perhaps of itſelf now deſerve any credit, if the ſubſequent conduct of his Pruſſian majeſty had not perfectly corroborated it. One incon-

teſtable

teſtable truth in it is, that the Low-Countries were, at the ſpecial inſtance of one of the contracting parties, which could not be England, omitted *. If reports too founded on the utmoſt probability, and on the known ſentiments of his Pruſſian majeſty towards the French court, may be credited; he was extremely blanked, not to ſay confounded at its not biting at the bait he had thrown out to it. He would not perhaps have been extreamly ſurprized at encountering the French as enemies to Britain, or to Hanover, but had never dreamt of encountering them as the friends of Auſtria. But in this he was diſappointed.

France, whom he had twice left in the lurch, could have no great confidence in him, and imagined ſhe ſhould make her market better with Auſtria, now not only thoroughly indiſpoſed towards this nation, but frightened at once at our deſertion,

* The word *Germany* was ſubſtituted to that of *Empire*, which in a more extenſive ſenſe comprehends the Low-Countries, Bohemia, and other dominions.

and at the deſigns of Pruſſia againſt her. She was moreover greatly exaſperated at our renewal of the guarantee of Sileſia to the king of Pruſſia; a renewal which becauſe perfectly unneceſſary, ſhe conſtrued into an intention of noſing her with it.

In this ill-humor, and what was more powerful yet with her, in this her terror, can there be any wonder that ſhe ſhould ſtrike in with France, that opened her arms to receive her, and courted her with every motive of revenge, of ſafety, and of apparent intereſt, circumſtanced as ſhe then was; the ſword of Pruſſia evidently whetted againſt her throat, and herſelf not even very decently treated by us, was there ſo much as an alternative at her option? Have we any right to reproach her with a ſtep to which ourſelves had driven her, and evidently made a neceſſity to her? Truth is not the leaſt truth for being unpopular. Much has been ſaid of her ingratitude to this nation for all the ſervices done to her family; but waving the plea of their having been conſtantly and obviouſly done, either for the intereſt of Britain, and perhaps oftener

teneſt for that of Hanover; is the famous and never-to-be forgotten peace of Utrecht, by which the crown of Spain and all its appendages, (that would indeed have formed a ſo neceſſary counter-ballance to France; the want of which has coſt us ſo many millions,) were transferred from the houſe of Auſtria to the houſe of Bourbon, to be ranked among thoſe ſervices for which ſhe is charged with ſo black a crime as that of ingratitude? Does ſhe owe us any great thanks for the part our court had in obliging her to part with Sileſia; which the whole Britiſh nation once thought ſo cruelly and unjuſtly wreſted from her? The times indeed are changed, but the right of things does not change with them. And for what did ſhe part with a province of near a million ſterling yearly revenue, to a mortal enemy, and once not eſteemed by us the moſt generous one? But for a poor half million adjuſted and paid by us. It may be ſaid this unvoluntary ceſſion was at that time impoſed on her by the deſperateneſs of her circumſtances, conſequently not imputable to us. Granted that were true; granted that ſhe was purely influenced by them, and

not

not by our menaces of abandoning her, if ſhe did not comply with the terms preſcribed by Pruſſia; is not the ſame plea of neceſſity receivable in the caſe of her embracing the alliance of France? No one in his ſenſes can imagine it was her choice. She muſt know too well for that, not only the incompatibility of their intereſts, but the depth of deſign, and conſtitutional perfidy of that court.

The embroiling us then with Ruſſia, with the Empreſs Queen, and in its conſequences with almoſt all Europe, was evidently the reſult of that treaty of ours with Pruſſia in February 1756. We ſhall now ſee what benefit accrued to Britain, and to Hanover from his Pruſſian majeſty's diſpoſitions to obſerve it.

The main intent of it was doubtleſs to defeat the French deſigns of penetrating into the electorate of Hanover. Weſel, a place ſtrongly fortified by the king of Pruſſia's father, who tendered it as the apple of his eye; Weſel, that important barrier, that could have ſtopped the French, at leaſt ſix weeks, was ungarriſoned, and left the way clear for the French to enter into the heart of the Empire. Every one knows what fol-

followed: they advanced into Hanover, had barely the advantage at the affair of Haſtenbeck, and yet reduced the Hanoverians and Heſſians to a pacific convention at Cloſter-ſeven, to which Richelieu was ſo weak as to truſt, without inſiſting on their laying down their arms.

It has been ſaid, that that ſagacious prince, the King of Pruſſia, had ſtrong reaſons for with-drawing that garriſon. No doubt he had. But whatever they were, they baulked, in a great meaſure, the very firſt and capital intention of the treaty he had not long before ſigned, and which brought on that of Verſailles between the Empreſs-Queen and the French King of the firſt of May following.

In September, of that year, his Pruſſian Majeſty made his irruption into the proteſtant electorate of Saxony; of which, by a new, and till then, unheard of diſtinction, he took poſſeſſion, in the form of a *depoſite*. There is no need of characterizing this ſtep here. What the opinion of his Electoral Highneſs of Hanover was, may be ſeen in the memorial delivered in by his Comitial miniſter at Ratiſbon, where he ſolemnly

lemnly diſavowed, and even deteſted it. His Britannic Majeſty was however of a contray way of thinking, ſince the very ſame prince who had taken that, at leaſt, irregular ſtep, was ſolemnly recommended by him to the nation as its *natural ally!* Common-ſenſe is however at a loſs to reconcile ſuch contradictions.

The war was hotly carried on in Germany; a war that ſeems to have been a conteſt for which ſide ſhould commit the greateſt blunders. Thoſe of Pruſſia were unhappily for him the feweſt. Unhappily for him, it may without a paradox be ſaid, ſince all his great and ſhining victories, obtained by his ſuperiority in general-ſhip, and in his forces over the greateſt blunderers that ever pretended to know any thing in war, have brought him no nearer an iſſue, whilſt they muſt weaken him in proportion as they have exaſperated, thoſe enemies of his, who ſurely had not before wanted the inclination, and are now thereby reduced to the neceſſity of cruſhing him, or of periſhing themſelves. Berlin the King of Pruſſia's own capital had been laid under contribution, and two ſuch victories as would

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in former times have probably transferred the whole Roman Empire to the gainer of them, have not as yet produced to him the recovery of a part even of his own dominions, which is to this inſtant in the hands of his enemies. But this is far from all that is againſt him. A capacity ſo great, an activity ſo indefatigable as his, ſeconded by the beſt troops and generals in Europe, have hitherto enabled him to withſtand the united force of thoſe great powers that are confederated againſt him; and may he long continue to maintain his deſerved ſuperiority over them! But when he ſhall have reduced, and even deſtroyed the empreſs queen; ſuppoſe her hunted out of Vienna, and forced to fly to Hungary, or elſewhere, from before the face of his victorious armies; ſuppoſe even the reſt of his enemies diſcouraged, and out of condition to aſſiſt her effectually in her diſtreſs; there ſtill remains for him to ſurmount, an obſtacle not the leſs invincible, for its preſent appearance of being the very weakeſt; the laws of the empire. Againſt this rock he muſt ultimately ſplit, becauſe, humanly ſpeaking, though it may be ſhaken, it cannot

be ſubverted without dragging after it a general ruin. Will not, or at leaſt ought not all Germany to arm to a man in defence of a conſtitution thus threatened to be overturned, and which cannot be annihilated without a violent and entire change of the ſyſtem of Europe? Will other powers, now neutral, ſtand by and ſee their own ſafety endangered by ſuch a revolution? It may be ſaid, that peace will be the iſſue of ſuch a reduction of the empreſs queen; but is ſhe not too much exaſperated? can ſhe make it without her allies? and ſhould ſhe even ſubmit to her conqueror with their conſent, what reliance can ſhe have on the ſtability of any treaty with him? "She muſt be cruſhed "then: the king of Pruſſia will effectal-"ly eradicate her power." Granted. But who is to be ſubſtituted in the room of that Houſe, which has for ſo many ages preſided over Germany, and which Germany cannot help reſpecting and ſupporting, even though ſhe has ſo many juſt reaſons to complain of it? Will it be anſwered that the king of Pruſſia will fill up that void? Every true Engliſhman who looks on him in his preſent light of popularity, would and ought

to

to wiſh it; but no one that knows any thing of the ſtate of Europe, or of the empire, can entertain ſo frantic a hope. Nothing is, it is true, above the perſonal merit of ſo great a prince. But is he immortal? will his ſucceſſors have the ſame claim? will Germany, on ſo frail a tenure as that of his life, exchange an old eſtabliſhed family for a very new one? Will ſhe tamely ſacrifice her liberty, privileges, and every thing that is ſacred, to a maſter thus impoſed on her by force of arms, and from whom as a maſter, ſhe can hardly expect more reſpect to her laws, than he has ſhewn them as a ſubject and member of the empire? Has he even, at this very hour, after all his amazing ſucceſſes, acquired one conſiderable ally, except Britain? The French he has already beat and driven back; and admit the Empreſs-queen ſhould be forc'd to take refuge in her wilds in Hungary, will theſe events, probably, deliver him from one of thoſe enemies that now keep the ſword in his hand, and compel him to fight for his very exiſtence, not only with them, but with the ſeaſons themſelves? Will his advantages not rather multiply his

adverſaries? Even ſuch proſperous events as might, in the uſual courſe of things, have gained friends to a bad cauſe, have however won none over to his, and only ſerved to draw the cloſer the ties of alliance between the powers combined againſt him. Some of them are not only proteſtant powers, but even near relations to him; yet there have not been wanting ſome, or mad, or ſilly, or deſigning enough to treat this war he is carrying on as a religious one. Can ſuch a condition then as his, with all the glare his victories have diffuſed over it, blind one man of ſenſe or reflection to the hollowneſs of it? Is it not rather ſo truly deplorable that his ſword the more ſucceſsful it is, is but digging the deeper and the more inevitable a precipice for him? Even now the prodigious pitch to which he has carried his power betrays its weakneſs, ſince nothing can be plainer than its being of the nature of a large ſtructure, that wanting proportionable foundations, and cement, the higher it ſhould be raiſed would but be the nearer coming to the ground. Let him take Olmutz, let him win battle upon battle, let him

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plant, if he will, his victorious ſtandards on the ramparts of Vienna; he is not a jot the more advanced, if Germany and the reſt of Europe are but the more provoked, and reſolutely bent againſt his aggrandizement. They have but too much felt, and can hardly not reſent the airs of deſpotiſm he has already given himſelf to his co-eſtates; his preſcribing to his equals rules of conduct in the moſt imperious ſtrain; his threatening thoſe his fellow-members of the empire, who armed againſt him only in obedience to its laws, and to whom he has ſcarce imputed it as leſs than the crime of high-treaſon againſt his own majeſty. But his procedure eſpecially towards Saxony, has made him enemies of all thoſe powers, who may not care to have the eſtabliſhed law of nations give place to a new *Code-Frederic* crammed down their throats, by which the ſtrange expedient of ſeizing and taking a neighbouring ſtate, *in depoſite*, may grow into practice, under its propagation, like that of the Alcoran by the ſword. Even then, in a political, to ſay nothing of a ſentimental light, for that is unqueſtionable, the fortune of the

poor,

poor, fugitive, diſtreſt, but faithful king of Poland, ſeems leſs to be pitied than that of the Pruſſian hero in all his glory, hurried as he has been by fears, real or imaginary, out of the character of a benefactor to mankind into that of its deſtroyer.

But whether his cauſe be as juſt as it is ſo generally imagined here, or as unjuſt as the reſt of Europe, looks on it to be, and has already given judgment againſt him, it is much to be doubted whether Britain as his ally, can do him much effectual ſervice, whilſt in the attempt ſhe may do infinite miſchief to herſelf. Nor ought the unpopularity of this doubt to deter any one, to whom Pruſſia is leſs dear than his own country, from urging what he conceives to be the truth, though ſure of offending where he does not convince. The daring to diſpleaſe is often not the leaſt of ſervices, though it rarely meets with the acknowledgment it deſerves. But to liquidate this queſtion, and to form juſt concluſions, ſome retroſpect is neceſſary into the actual ſtate of Britain, from the breaking out of the war with France to this preſent time.

Minorca

Minorca infamouſly loſt, the unproſperous events in America, and indeed the general miſmanagement of affairs, without order, without ſyſtem, without dignity, naturally alarmed the nation for the conſequences. The inſolence of the French had ſwelled in proportion to our weakneſs; and they who, not long before, had not ſcrupled to compare us to the antient Romans, now began to hold us as cheap as the modern ones. Our natural friends were grown cold and indifferent towards us. A miſerable neglect, or at beſt a faint perfunctory management of the national intereſt, always ſubordinate to a foreign one, ruinouſly for itſelf preferred, and ardently purſued, could not well tempt other powers to connect with us. In ſhort, the balance of the public opinion, both at home and abroad, was compleatly againſt us.

Such a ſituation could not but awaken Britain. Her firſt emotions were thoſe of ſo violent an indignation againſt the authors of it, as to ſuſpend even her exertion towards providing a remedy. This ſtate of aſtoniſhment or ſtupor the French miſtook for fear or deſpondence. At firſt, indeed

indeed, the nation imagined herſelf weak, only becauſe her power had been weakly adminiſtered, and that ſhe had not for a long time ſeen ſo much as an attempt at a juſt diſpenſation of her ſtrength. She had very reaſonably indeed loſt her patience, but nothing of her courage, even though numbers had labored to induce a total deſpair, and by dint of telling the public that it was already ruined, had almoſt perſuaded it that it was ſo. To the nation then under her preſent irkſome ſenſations of ſhame for the paſt, and of apprehenſions for the future, it was a kind of relief from them to hope better things from a change of adminiſtration: all ranks, all conditions groaned for it, not even excepting the underlings in offices, all uncurious as they generally are about who occupy the places above them, ſo they do but hold theirs; the dogs in the ſtreet ſcarce more indifferent about what hand throws a bone to them, or about the dirt in the midſt of which they find it. Nothing could more invincibly prove the uniform ſenſe of the nation. In its hurry, however, for a choice of new protectors, it was contented to take the readieſt and the firſt that preſented themſelves

ſelves. Theſe were thoſe who had once before riſen by the "ſpeech-trade" in this ſpeech-making age, and who had the moſt recently galled and fatigued, by popular harangues, eſpecially againſt continental connections, thoſe very miniſters with whom they had for years continued very quietly and tamely co-operating, in conſequence of that wretched bargain they had once before made of the popularity they had obtained by abuſing them. But whether the ſweet-meat gag that had ſo long ſtopped their mouths was melted down their throats, and given them an appetite for a new and a larger one, whether from a native reſtleſſneſs, or whether they could not reſiſt the tempting occaſion from the actual face of things, to try if the confidence of the people could not be once more captivated and made ſubſervient to their private views by their appearance in an oppoſition; they ſet up a freſh one. They ſucceeded. The dull nauſeating farce of concerted, temporizing, inſignificant reſignations and to the full as inſignificant acceptances, was now played and, by amuſing, ſatisfied the bulk of the public. Every thing was hoped for from the new elect. It would, at this time, be a tedious and needleſs taſk to enter into particulars here of all that ferment precedent to its ſubſiding at length into the triple alliance of thoſe three heads of parties, whoſe extream difference from

one another in a number of points did not promiſe a very kind or effectual mixture. Nor, in truth, could it be accounted for otherwiſe than by ſuppoſing them uniformly of the ſame principle and diſpoſition, at bottom, to hold power on its old and only tenure, an implicit and practical aſſentation to ſuch continental meaſures as ſhould be dictated to them. For any thing elſe, they might be the maſters. Nor, that ſpecial point once well pre-aſſured, was it but matter of great indifference which of the chiefs of party ſhould take the lead: or all of them together for the better grace of the thing, were welcome to club their faces to it. The abſurdities however, the ridicule, the meanneſſes which all of them ſubſcribed to the public, in that period of conteſt, can hardly be ſo ſoon forgot, unleſs indeed on the foot of their not being intrinſically worth remembrance. Nothing was, in fact, leſs ſerious nor more immemorable, unleſs for the damage it occaſioned, whilſt all the public councils were at a ſtand, and all our military operations languiſhed. All Europe ſtood amazed at ſeeing nothing attempted by us, either in arms or negotiations, in ſo momentous a criſis. No matter. Britain was overpaid for its delays, ſince they at length iſſued in that happy compromiſe of all the claimants of power by which that miniſtry

niſtry was eſtabliſhed, which has already done ſuch prodigious things, and promiſes to do ſo many more, if the holding together of characters ſo diſcordant, could flatter us with the hopes of its long duration. This is however that co-alition of parties which has been by ſo many well-meaning people miſtaken for the ſo much wanted, and the ſo deſirable national union, as if in thoſe parties the nation itſelf had conſiſted, or could be extreamly honored in being repreſented by them.

In the mean time our misfortunes, our diſgraces had preciſely a contrary effect to what the miſſionaries of timidity and deſpair had expected, or to what the like would have probably operated on our good neighbours the French. Whoever knows that nation, muſt know that even the ſmalleſt reverſes of fortune ſoon damp and deject them; but a Britiſh ſpirit the greateſt rather animate. It is with Britons in politics, as it is in the field, their courage encreaſes with their wounds.

To this acknowledged, and it may be ſaid, almoſt peculiar characteriſtic of the Britiſh people, the new miniſters will hardly be aſhamed of confeſſing that they have

the higheſt obligation; ſince they not only owe to it their ſupport, but their being enabled to make the very beſt figure their capacities or talents would allow them to make. They will doubtleſs then ſpurn that nauſeous flattery, from which it has been ſo falſely and injuriouſly ſaid that, ſince their acceſſion to power, they had infuſed into the nation that ſpirit, which the very truth is, that they themſelves had received from it. Without it could one of them have been ſo elated as to vent that ſilly gaſconnade? "That before his entrance "into power he had imagined the Engliſh "were ruined, but, that he had not been "three weeks IN, before" *I gad!* he found that *the French, it was, who were at the laſt gaſp.*

In ſhort, the pretention of the fly on the wheel, could not be more ridiculous than their aſſuming any merit for the great and noble ſpirit now evidently raiſed, and of which it is to be hoped that the French, who are originally the occaſion, will ſeverely feel the conſequences, whenever it ſhall be put under a proper and effectual direction.

But

But this was not the only obligation the miniſters had to the people; even their beſt counſels, their wiſeſt meaſures were dictated to them by the common ſenſe of the nation. They will hardly deny that the care of the American colonies, and namely the attack of Cape-Breton, the effectual protection indiſpenſably due to trade and navigation, the keeping up the navy, were all points long before ſtrenuouſly recommended by the voice of the public. Not to have paid attention to it, would have been indeed the height of ſtupidity. It would not only have robbed them of the honorable title of *miniſters of the people*, and of the life and vigor the public confidence gives to all their acts and procedure, ſuch as they are, but of the power of continuing in their places, as well as of carrying collaterally other points neceſſary to their being endured in that cloſet, into which the popular acclamation had uſhered them. Points only fit to cancell all the merit of attending to thoſe ſuggeſted by the people, whoſe effect they muſt blank, and which were, by this means, only made their ſtales; points in which they could have no hard taſk to ſucceed, ſince they happened to co-incide with

with a public paſſion, that was riſen to a degree of enthuſiaſm, not to ſay infatuation, in favor of a hero, who had done ſo much to deſerve our grateful good wiſhes to his cauſe, and every thing in ſhort from us, but abſolutely joining with him, which it may be eaſily demonſtrated could be for the advantage of neither.

That period was now come of itſelf, in which thoſe orators who had, in a great meaſure, gained their popularity by fulminating againſt all continental connexions, indiſcriminately, which was certainly an exceſs, had the greateſt room in the world for pluming themſelves on their opinion. The defection of Auſtria, the convention of Cloſter-ſeven, and above all the irregularity of the K. of P——'s procedure ſolemnly diſowned and deteſted by even the electoral miniſters of Hanover, formed an inexhauſtible fund for eloquence to diſplay itſelf victoriouſly, and with the beſt grace imaginable, for ſuch eſpecially as had before oppoſed the vain and endleſs waſte of ſubſidies upon Germany. Nothing could have withſtood the arguments that ſo obviouſly occurred againſt once more entangling the

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nation in alliance with the powers of the continent. Inſtead of which, the moment of their triumph was the moment of their deſertion, and what poſterity will hardly believe if ſuch ſilly inconſiſtences are worth the tranſmiſſion to it; from having ſucceeded in decrying continental connections, they were at that very juncture once more whiffled round into advocates for them, with the ſuperaddition of perhaps the moſt exceptionable and dangerous one of all.

To examine this poſition with candor, no Engliſhman is deſired to diſtruſt his own judgment; what he has to be in guard againſt, is his inclination, which too often impoſes on it: eſpecially where his prejudice is bred by laudable motives, in which caſe his opinion takes the lead of his reaſon, inſtead of being guided by it; than which inverſion there cannot be a greater nor more common inducement both to error, and to obſtinacy in error.

Auſtria, though driven into the arms of France by a momentary and very pardonable fit of ill-humor and terror, could not, in all good policy, be conſidered or treated as an irreconcileable enemy. This alliance with

was by the higheſt authority, even in a ſpeech from the throne, ſtyled an *unnatural* one: and the truth is, that it was too much ſo, to be, humanly ſpeaking, preſumed a durable one. There could be no fear neither of the French king's not puniſhing her more than we perhaps ought to wiſh, for her folly in truſting a court, that hitherto was never truſted but it betrayed. We might then, with more propriety, have condoled with her on her acquiſition of a maſter in the ſhape of an ally. Here the prudence would have been to have ſtopped, and not to widen deſperately the breach, by openly aiding or abetting one whom ſhe had ſo much reaſon to look on as her mortal enemy. A few remonſtrances and a little time for the experience of the ſincerity of France, would in all probability have brought her back to a ſenſe of her own ſafety and intereſt. At leaſt, this was the conduct to which the French dreaded the moſt our adherence and its conſequences. Their beſt politicians expreſſed themſelves clearly to this effect, whilſt the reconciliation of the courts of London and Vienna was not yet ſet at an impracticable diſtance,

diſtance, by our ſubſequent meaſures, which diſſipated thoſe apprehenſions of France, the very keeping up of which was ſo obvious an advantage to us.

In the mean time, Auſtria might indeed well be ſurprized, if the ſtrangeneſs of our politics had left any room for the being ſurprized at any turn they ſhould take, to ſee us run headlong into ſuch cloſe engagements with her enemy, and one who never had been over-celebrated for his ſentiments of friendſhip or eſteem for this nation. We never, in fact, had the honor to be much in his good graces. But ſurely if he had owed us even a grudge, he could not have more effectually ſatisfied it, than by involving us, in a cauſe ſo deſperate and ſo foreign to us as his. Auſtria however could not forget, though we ſo perfectly had, his treatment of us in the affair of the Sileſia-loan. She as well as the whole world knew that his predilection had been entirely for France. Her faſhions, the deſpotiſm of her government had been long his model, and even her language was become his own language and that of his court, in contempt of his native German. In ſhort, all the reaſons that appeared to Auſtria ſo ſtrong againſt this new alliance, could only aggravate her reſent-

ment at its having been made, in wrong of our antient and eſtabliſhed one with her.

Neither has Hanover itſelf any great reaſon to boaſt of its reliance on the treaty made with him purpoſely for its ſecurity. One of the firſt ſteps after it, was the evacuation of Weſel, which diſabled him from effectuating his engagements, and laid the road to Hanover open to the French. They penetrated into it, as if in defiance of the Pruſſian guarantee, who gave the troops aſſembled to oppoſe the invaſion little or no aſſiſtance. It may be ſaid, that he could ſpare none; that his attention was engroſſed, that all the forces he took with him, not to mention thoſe he oppoſed to the Swedes and Ruſſians, were little enough to make head againſt the combined armies of France and the Empire: that in ſhort, the glorious account he gave of thoſe enemies againſt whom he had choſen immediately to march, amply abſolve him. It certainly does ſo, but not with reſpect to Hanover. The treaty either meant his covering that electorate, or it meant nothing. His oppoſing the foreign troops that had made their way into another part of the empire, was nothing to Hanover, which thereby ſuffered as much as no ſuch treaty had exiſted. The letter of it was,

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it is true, fulfilled, but the ſpirit of it eluded, in a manner ſpecious indeed, but which could not ſtill be very ſatisfactory to Hanover, that ſaw itſelf uncovered by him, and reduced to make that treaty of neutrality, ſo ill received here, but of which none could evidently have ſo little reaſon to complain as his Pruſſian majeſty.

Of all the injuries however done to that illuſtrious Prince, not one can be a greater, from the ridicule of it, than the ranking amongſt his motives, the protection of the Proteſtant Religion. Yet ignorance, always credulous, and always furious to maintain the abſurdities it has once ſwallowed, has found him among enthuſiaſts and methodiſts here, panegyriſts of a principle that, on this occaſion, evidently never once entered his thoughts. His cruſhing a coeſtate, which the firſt in Europe embraced the light of proteſtaniſm from Luther, its firſt miſſionary, and had moreover the double merit of remaining firmly attached to that religion, under a Roman-catholic ſovereign, and of its retaining its allegiance to that ſovereign, though of that faith, can be no proof of his over-tenderneſs for any pro-

teſtants that ſhould ſtand in the light of his political views. It may be ſuperfluous to name here the other proteſtant powers actually in arms againſt him, which ſhews, at leaſt, that they do not conſider this war in a religious light. To ſay the truth, few of the Princes on either ſide ſeem overloaded with religion, which, at beſt, is oftener their pretext, than their real motive. Even that eternally bigotted houſe, the houſe of Auſtria, enſlaved as it is, to this hour, to the jeſuits, has however begun to relax much of its cruel and perſecuting fervor againſt its proteſtant vaſſals. Experience has convinced it, as well as the houſe of Bourbon, that even their numberleſs oppreſſions and acts of ingratitude to their innocent ſubjects of that perſuaſion, are not able to ſhake that fidelity of theirs to their lawful ſovereigns, which they place amongſt their articles of doctrine, and is not amongſt the leaſt proofs of its purity and goodneſs. Even then the obduracy of ſuperſtition itſelf has been in ſome meaſure ſoftened and diſarmed by the uniform tenor of conduct in the followers of a religion, more conformable to the meekneſs of the goſpel,

breathing, as it evidently does, the ſpirit of toleration and good-will to all mankind.

But as to his Pruſſian Majeſty, eſpecially, no man in his ſenſes will ſuſpect him of ſo falſe a zeal, as that of kindling a war in favor of the proteſtant religion, when there was not the ſhadow of a proof, either of its being attacked by any Romiſh power, or of any intention of its being attacked. No. He took a much better and more effectual way of ſerving it, and of ſhewing his ſenſe of the weakneſs of the Roman-catholic religion in the permiſſion he gave to the famous Mecenati, ſaid to be the ſame man who ſome years ago appeared in England, under the aſſumed title of count Ughi, to build a magnificent Roman church in the heart of his dominions, in his capital, in Berlin itſelf. In that conceſſion too a begging brief for contributions to it was included, and authorized under the ſeal of his own chancery. The firſt ſtone of it was laid in his name by the count de Haake, the thirteenth of July 1746. A medal was ſtruck on this occaſion with the following inſcription, FAUTORI *ſuo Religio Romano-Catholica.* Superſtition is always blind, and did not ſee in this

his indulgence that profound contempt of it, which it ſo evidently implied. Even the court of Rome, that has made ſo many bubbles, was on this occaſion the bubble of that prince. The Pope himſelf expreſſed his grateful ſenſe of that grant. But had he known the ſuperior genius of the King of Pruſſia better, had he done him. in ſhort juſtice, he could not but be ſenſible that that monarch muſt look on the Court of Rome in its true light, of a Court of Conſervancy of ſome of the moſt blaſphemous and abſurd fictions that ever diſhonored the human underſtanding for ſwallowing them; a Court that has put the ſacred truths of the goſpel to a not leſs vile uſe than that of making, under favor of them, its ſpurious ingraftment of thoſe impoſtures go down, on which it has erected its whole ſyſtem of lucre and tyranny; whilſt what it has the ſupream impudence to call the *only* Church, in which the ſalvation of mankind can be obtained, is palpably nothing but a ſtrong hold of pillage and oppreſſion, manned by knaves, and maintained at the expence of prejudice-ridden fools.

On the occaſion however of the preſent

ſent war in Germany, the Roman-catholic powers have aſcribed to his Pruſſian majeſty one motive, amongſt others, that does him infinitely more honor, than that aſſign'd him by ſome of his fellow-proteſtants, and with nearer approaches to truth, at leaſt than theirs. The papiſts then impute to him as matter of offence, a project of ſecularizing ſome of the great ſpiritual ſtates of Germany, and of even forming a league amongſt the proteſtant princes to that effect. As great a public benefit however as ſuch an immutation would be, and in courſe worthy of his Pruſſian Majeſty's undertaking it, the wonder would be if the Roman catholic powers did not, as ſuch, oppoſe it, if but for being the propoſal of a proteſtant one; though it may be believed, that even ſome of them are not ſo ſcrupulous, but they would conſent to it, on the condition of coming in for a ſhare. But however that may be, religion itſelf muſt ſtill be abſolutely out of the queſtion: the perfect purity of it diſdains and diſclaims all mixture with temporal concerns.

To thoſe then who are not groveling in the dirt of ignorance or of low prejudice, beneath

beneath the reach of the influence of truth, nothing can be more clear than that lugging into the quarrel the proteſtant religion is in fact the greateſt injury that can be done to it, or to that great prince, in whoſe favor they imagine ſo falſe and exploded a pretence is of a nature to paſs for a reaſon for our union with him, however emphatically it has been founded as ſuch.

But if religion was evidently not even a pretext for Britain to make a common cauſe with his Pruſſian majeſty in this quarrel, it may be ſafely averred that good policy can, in the nature of things, as little find reaſon to conſider this alliance as a very great bargain.

The German empire, that very empire, in the delivery of which from the oppreſſion of the houſe of Auſtria his P— M— declared he had taken arms, was not, it ſeems, in the leaſt diſpoſed to receive him in that light. His great exploits in Saxony had met with quite another interpretation than he had given it in his voluminous manifeſts. No laurels could cover the baldneſs of his apology. The princes of Germany imagined they had reaſon, in the fate of that electorate, to fear their own, whenever

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they ſhould unhappily become obnoxious to the dread diſpleaſure of his P— M—. They had ſeen him proceed, without other form of trial than that of military execution, to drive an aged king out of his hereditary dominions, with circumſtances of the deepeſt diſtreſs and indignity to himſelf and to his royal family: they had ſeen others of the princes of Germany over-awed with threats of the ſame uſage, ſome of which were actually executed: they had ſeen him, in ſhort, with all the brow of deſpotiſm, give his fellow-ſubjects of the empire, his will and pleaſure for a law, his ſuſpicions for proofs, his armies for pleaders, and his power for a reaſon.

If the laws of the empire, then, were not a mere jeſt, of neither uſe nor ſignificance, the Diet could not poſſibly help, on the formal requiſition of the parties aggrieved, to put his P— M— to the ban of the empire, and to appoint an army to carry it into execution.

At leaſt, in all this, there was nothing but what was ſtrictly authoriſed, nay, enjoined by the conſtitution of Germany. Even thoſe who condemn this treatment of his P— M— have nothing better to ſay, than that the Diet was under the undue influence of the houſe of Auſtria. But of this they do not furniſh the leaſt proof; and beſides,

that railing at one's judges is not of itſelf one of the moſt favorable ſigns of the goodneſs of a cauſe; it is certainly no more receivable, without proofs, before the great tribunal of the public, than it is before any other human one whatever. But even this undue influence muſt be a mere chimæra. It muſt proceed either from fear or corruption.

As to fear; Pruſſia was palpably much more capable of inſpiring it than Auſtria; beſides, that his power gave the princes laboring under it a fair opportunity of ſhaking it off, by joining with him.

As to corruption, nothing can be clearer, than that Auſtria has not of a long time been, but rather in circumſtances to ſell herſelf than to purchaſe others. Beſides that ſhe might, with ſome ſhew of reaſon, retort, that his P— M— cannot himſelf name many German princes amongſt his allies that are not very exactly in the pay of Britain for being ſo.

Till the contrary then can be ſhown, and, as yet, it has not been ſo much as attempted to be ſhown, the ſentence of the Diet ſtands valid and unexceptionable, and not the leſs ſo for the want of ſtrength in the empire to reduce to a ſubmiſſion that potent prince, who is fallen under it. If ſome princes, either by their own intrinſic power, or thro'

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that of their foreign allies, have on falling under the ban, eſcaped the execution of it; ſuch an eſcape was never conſidered as an abrogation of thoſe laws from which that ban was an emanation. They were ſtill underſtood to remain in full force; and the electorate of Saxony itſelf transferred from the elder to the younger branch, where it actually now reſts, ſtands a proof of their not being always eluded. The caſe too of the elector of Bavaria allied to France, whilſt under the ban, was a very different one from that of Pruſſia's connexion with Great Britain. The elector of Bavaria had taken no neighbouring co-eſtate into *depoſite*, nor by an unheard-of procedure compelled its ſubjects to break their oath of allegiance to their lawful ſovereign, by taking one to himſelf.

But whether this ſentence againſt his P— M— was juſt or not, or whether the Germanic conſtitution admits or not of an Elector's availing himſelf of the alliance of a foreign power in his defence againſt the effects of a ban, at leaſt it muſt be owned, that whatever power openly aids or abets him, cannot, for the time, be but conſidered as an enemy to the empire. Let Auſtria, let France, let Ruſſia, let Sweden thus combined be conſidered by us, only as a cowardly overmatch to that great prince, who has thus

gallantly ſtruggled with them all; let it conſequently rather invite than deter us from ſuccouring him againſt ſuch a confederacy: but ſurely, the declaration of the empire, totally changes the nature of the war, now become a domeſtic affair, in which the interfering ſeems not only beneath the majeſty of the Britiſh people, but unbecoming its character of at leaſt a well-wiſher to the laws and liberties of other nations as well as to its own.

If France has pragmatically intermeddled, and poured her troops into Germany, under the triple character of Guarantee to the treaty of Weſtphalia, of auxiliary to Auſtria, and of an enemy to Britain, determined to wound her through the ſides of Hanover; her example was rather a warning not to follow it, than an invitation. She has hitherto, thank God! made as miſerable a figure there as we could wiſh. But it muſt be acknowledged, that the part ſhe left this nation to play, if this nation would have embraced it, was a much more wiſe and great one, than what herſelf had choſen. It was that of a contingent mediator, and a powerful, becauſe an armed one. This character by the taking ſide with Pruſſia, became evidently forfeited. He cannot be a Judge, who has made himſelf a Party. But, beſides that as a mediator, Britain might

might have eventually been in pafs to ſerve the king of Pruſſia much more effectually than as an open ally; ſhe needed not have confined her good offices to ſuch a mediation. Amongſt all the powers leagued againſt him, France alone was our common enemy: the others were, if not friends, at leaſt indifferent towards us. A prince then ſo thoroughly governed by his greateſt advantage as he is, and who had only in one point, and that purely by chance, a common intereſt with us, could not well take it ill, that we ſhould conſult our own in all the reſt. Nay, in that very conſulting our own, we ſhould in fact have conſulted his.

Auſtria, on ſeeing that his B— M— gave no aſſiſtance to Pruſſia, would have in courſe ſeen, that his firſt treaty with that court had no other object than what he had ſo ſolemnly profeſſed, the covering of Hanover, and the maintaining the tranquillity of the empire. This conduct would have been not only of a nature to calm her animoſity, but to re-invite her confidence. Our influence then might have been reſtored, and made ſerviceable to his P—

M—

M——, at the iſſue of the war. Ruſſia and Sweden too, would have had no pretext of enmity to us as auxiliaries to the prince againſt whom they had declared war, and would have been the readier to receive our pacific repreſentations.

It may be ſaid, "what! ſhould we have "tamely ſtood ſpectators of the brave king "of Pruſſia's ſtruggles with his adverſaries? "would that have been a grateful retribu- "tion for the great and ſucceſsful diver- "ſion he has created, in our favor, of the "French forces? could it be for our in- "tereſt to have that diverſion abridged either "by his ruin, or by the ſeparate peace he "might have been obliged to make, and "of which we could, in ſuch caſe, have "no ſort of reaſon to complain?"

To all theſe queſtions there is an obvious, and a rational anſwer. We were undoubtedly bound by all the ties of honor, of intereſt, of gratitude, to ſerve him: and to ſerve him even with more good will than he had ſerved us, ſince that ſervice was not only indirect and accidental, but even unvoluntary. France, it is perfectly well

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known, he rather wiſhed a friend than an enemy. But ſince, againſt both his deſire and his expectation, ſhe had taken a hoſtile turn towards him, and received from him thoſe checks and defeats for which Britain ſtands indebted to him; to have proceeded with correct juſtice, her manner of acknowledgment might ſurely have been as undirect as his ſervice, without his having the leaſt room to complain. Since France was now happily our common enemy, the bending our whole force of war againſt that nation, could not but have proportionably diſabled it from hurting him: and this might have been done effectually for his ſervice, without our appearing to know there was ſuch a perſon in exiſtence as him, and conſequently without entangling ourſelves in a cauſe, of which we could not, for many reaſons, keep too clear. The money, and men required by him, might, under a good direction, and employed effectually againſt France, have anſwered as valuable purpoſes to ourſelves and to him, without our unneceſſarily giving offence to powers with whom we had no quarrel, by openly ſending them over to him; thus ſubminiſtring ſupplies to feed

feed the war with them, and engaging ourſelves in a manner for him to wiredraw us into a chaos of embroils, of falſe meaſures, and expences without bottom or end. No power, however at war with Pruſſia, or however ſenſible of the advantage to him from our operations againſt France, could have reſented them. She, and not they, was our natural enemy, and in acting againſt her we could have exceeded no bounds. All the powers of Europe would then have applauded our ſpirit when they ſaw it ſo evidently under the controul of our juſtice.

Germany, in that caſe, would not have had occaſion to liſten to the infamouſly falſe charge broached by the French againſt his Britannic M—, of his having fomented, nay kindled the war in the empire, for views as foreign to it as they are in fact to Britain itſelf. Yes! France, of whom it may be ſo juſtly averred that there has ſcarce been a drop of human blood ſpilt in war, in the remoteſt corner of Europe, but what was directly or indirectly owing to her cabals; France, I ſay, has dared to impute to one of the moſt pacific, humane and beſt intentioned monarchs

that ever graced a throne, the guilt of lighting up that flame, in which Germany is at preſent involved, and in which his own dominions have ſo ſeverely ſuffered. The truth is, that it were to be wiſhed that the rightful Britiſh cauſe had been pleaded before the Public of Europe, and at all the courts of it by able negotiators, with the ſame eagerneſs and induſtry as the French have pleaded their moſt wrongful one. We might then have had ſome of her Princes for auxiliaries that are now at beſt cool towards us, and their ſubjects for our partizans.

But above all, the keeping aloof from the cauſe of Pruſſia would have abſolved us from any concern in the preſent deep and deplorable misfortunes of Germany, waſted, plundered and deſolated as it is, and by the moſt ſolemn authentic act of which her Conſtitution is capable, formally imputing all this to our ally, no matter how unjuſtly; ſince as to the conſequences, they are exactly the ſame from her opinion of our ſupporting and enabling him to continue what Germany calls her oppreſſion.

Yet to do his Pruſſian Majeſty juſtice, it does not at all appear that he had the oppreſſion of that country in view. His alarms for Sileſia, which were certainly not groundleſs, though perhaps not ſufficient to juſtify, at leaſt, to the immediate ſufferers, the extremities to which matters have been carried, were, moſt probably, the only motive that precipitated him into the appearances of aggreſſion. Himſelf knowing that his intentions went no farther than preventively to defeat the deſigns he had reaſon to think his enemies were hatching to wreſt that province out of his hands, might poſſibly not ſee, in the remoter conſequences, the tendency of his haſty appeal to the ſword. Perhaps, even at this inſtant, he wiſhes that Rubicon, the invaſion of Saxony, unpaſſed: at leaſt, he has given undoubted proofs of his not being animated by the ſpirit of conqueſt or oppreſſion, ſince even after his victories, he has of himſelf offered terms of peace, but terms of which the lengths he had gone, and the acrimony he had raiſed, oppoſed the acceptance.

He cannot but now ſee that the levelling the houſe of Auſtria to the duſt is a taſk more

more dangerous than he might at firſt apprehend. It is a Coloſſus that, ſhould it even fall by his efforts, muſt fall upon himſelf, and cruſh him with its weight. All Europe ſhaken to her foundations, and particularly Germany enraged to ſee her ſyſtem overturned, her laws trampled upon or derided, could not but unite for revenge on the author of all this ruin, and eſpecially to obſtruct the advantages he might preſume from it. The conteſt would become deſperate, and the iſſue of it, humanly ſpeaking, cannot be ſuppoſed favorable to his Pruſſian M—.

But were it even to happen that he could, without theſe dreadful conſequences, carry the point of deſtroying the houſe of Auſtria, is it very clear that Britain could be any gainer by it? Is there any reaſon to think that he would prove an ally to us, more to be depended upon, more tractable, leſs intereſted, or leſs burthenſome than the houſe of Auſtria has been? Who knows how ſoon we ſhould be embarked in another war, and with more plauſibility, to reſtore it?

Nothing then can be more evident than that the benefit we reap from the continuance of the diverſion Pruſſia occaſions to

the arms of France, is much over-ballanced by the diſadvantages that muſt attend our conjunction with him. Nor is one of the leaſt of them that enmity, which we excite by it amongſt ſo many powers, with whom both our political and mercantile intereſt preſcribes to us rather a cultivation of friendſhip.

Our war with France has a determinate object. Pruſſia has by its procedure put it out of his own power to have one. Our cauſe is a clear, a fair one. What his is, there is no ſaying. He is in a labyrinth, of which neither himſelf nor any one elſe have the clue. The difficulties he has to encounter are Hydra-headed: even his favorable iſſue out of thoſe he has now before him, only preſents the proſpect of new and greater ones emerging *ad infinitum*. Peace is to him a horizon that flies before him: every advance his victories ſeem to gain him towards it, ſets him, in fact, at the greater diſtance from it. Should even the Empreſs-Queen compelled by the preſſure of circumſtances conſent to a ſeparate peace with him, which is not however very probable, it will hardly deſerve the name of peace,

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ſince neither of the parties can reaſonably truſt to it. If peace then is, as it is always underſtood to be, the object of all wars, can it be for the intereſt of this nation miſerably to pin its fair cauſe on a Prince ſo perfectly by chance on our ſide, granting even his cauſe was not a dubious one, and to whom peace has, humanly ſpeaking, all the appearances of an impoſſibility? Should it be ſaid that this union will terminate in forcing a peace on all the parties at war with it: not our greateſt enemies can impute to us a more invidious undertaking. To ſay nothing of its improbability, it is directly contrary to the reſpect and tenderneſs Britain has ever manifeſted for the liberties of Europe, to the giving law to which ſhe ſtands as averſe as to the receiving law from it, or from any powers in it. Yet without ſuch a ſuppoſition, what proſpect is there of peace for us, if inextricably involved with a power, who himſelf plunged into a bottomleſs abyſs of war, ſees us fond of being dragged after him into it, and of ſupporting him, which is no very good office, in his ruinous purſuit of it, and all becauſe one of the enemies he has ſo wantonly and ſurely undeſignedly made, happens to be ours?

Whoever then will give the whiſper of truth fair play againſt the roar of popular prejudice, may eaſily ſatisfy himſelf that France, yes France alone, ought to be pleaſed with our taking ſuch a part. Nothing can more effectually anſwer her ends. The ſending money and men to the continent, is ſure to weaken us in proportion at home. The ſucceſs is uncertain. France may however flatter herſelf with dealing to a much greater advantage with any oppoſition from us there, than if purely conducted on the foot of our inſular ſituation. In the mean time ſhe takes advantage of the general obnoxiouſneſs of the cauſe to which we have thought proper to connect ours, and putting both undiſtinctly under one cover and ſuperſcription, would make both paſs for having one and the ſame merit. But this is not all. Even our aſſiſtance to Pruſſia cannot but be at bottom agreeable to the politics of France, whoſe work it does, whilſt we are ſaddled at once with the expence and the odium of it. No one can think that France was ever in earneſt to cruſh Pruſſia. That court knows its intereſt too well to harbour ſuch a thought. It knows that keeping up the ballance in Germany, is of infinite impor-

tance to it: and that Pruſſia is the only power in it, that oppoſed to Auſtria can anſwer that end. The game of France is undoubtedly the reduction of both, not the deſtruction of either. This laſt is a work of which ſhe leaves the preparation to them; the conſummation of it, in due time, ſhe reſerves to herſelf. For this purpoſe it is that ſhe cannot but be pleaſed to ſee Germans cutting one another's throats, to which ſhe graciouſly lends her hand, on either ſide, as either ſide requires her trimming the ſcales to that effect. Both Auſtria and Pruſſia are fully ſatisfied of this, and yet their private paſſions are ſo violent and ſo much preferred by them to the public good of Germany, and indeed of Europe, that both of them occaſionally court and accept her baneful interpoſition.

What part had Britain then to play? What part? Once more it is averred, a great, an honorable, and a wiſe one, a part, in ſhort, of which the conſiderateneſs and reſerve would have been pregnant with ſuperior dignity, weight and advantage. The war puſhed againſt France, *totis viribus*, and puſhed upon purely a Britiſh footing unclogged with con-

nexions

nexions abſolutely foreign to it, would ſoon have bid fair to have ſickened her. It may be ſaid that in ſuch an event, ſhe would have renounced her projects in Germany, and turned her whole force immediately againſt us. So much the better. Pruſſia would then have been relieved, and in the only manner that we, or he either, ought to have wiſhed him to be relieved, For ourſelves we had nothing to fear, or at leaſt much leſs than France. Her ridiculous phantom of flat bottomed boats had, like other phantoms, ceaſed to exiſt the inſtant it was denied, or vaniſhed on the firſt dawn of light. It was ſoon diſcovered that we had been the ſport of a falſe alarm, and that we never had a real occaſion for thoſe Dutch troops, the aſking of which, though the refuſal of them was fore-known, paved the way for thoſe troops being aſked, where it was as well foreknwon they would be graciouſly granted, on convenient terms of hire. In ſhort, Britain began of itſelf to find out that deep ſecret to it, that France alone is not an over-match for it. The trade of that nation ruined, her navigation controuled in ſuch manner that her naval ſquadrons can only get in and out by ſtealth, the chan-

ſiel ſcoured, her colonies, at length, threatened with effectual attacks, not to mention how much more might probably have been done by a juſter diſpenſation of our ſtrength; all concur to prove that againſt France, at leaſt, we are of ourſelves ſufficient, and ſtand in need of no ally, whom we are to pay for fighting his own battles, and for whoſe ſake we muſt create ſo many more enemies, without the leaſt proſpect of where, when, or how *his* war with them will end.

In the mean time few who do juſtice to the depth of penetration, and to the ſolid way of thinking of his P— M——, can ſuppoſe him the bubble of all the popular acclamations and enthuſiaſm of admiration for him here. He has reaſon indeed to imagine they ſerve his own preſent point with us; but beyond that, he knows how to value them at no more than they are worth. He cannot but ſee with contempt Engliſhmen pluming themſelves upon victories not won by Engliſhmen, and the public attention lacqueying all his motions, as if the fate of Britain was to turn upon them. He well knows, that if inſtead of being, as he is, by mere accident on our ſide, he had been as he had rather wiſhed, on

 that

that of France, the multitude here would have ſeen all his actions and procedure in a very different light, and have abuſed him as much beyond meaſure as it now extolls him. It would have been as compleatly blind to his virtues as it is at preſent to any defects that may be thought to tarniſh the luſtre of them, and from ſome, in the natural ſtate of human imperfection, he can hardly be ſuppoſed exempt. Neither would this be any thing new to him. Whilſt he was making a diverſion in Bohemia, favorable to the French arms againſt the Queen of Hungary, at that time the idol of the public here; what encomiums, what fulſome adulation did not that people laviſh upon him? Panegyrics, poems, pindarics in his praiſe, were poured out with profuſion. *Ah le grand Roi! ah l'invincible Hero!* was the cry of the French public. No ſooner had he deſerted the cauſe of France, but the torrent ran inſtantly the contrary way: he was at once diſplumed of all that applauſe: ſatirs, indecent libels, the rankeſt ſcandal took place of it: the *Pont neuf* rang with the bittereſt ballads againſt him: then it was, *Quel Roi! il n'a ni foi ni loi.*

Even

Even his courage was become problematical. —The mob is the mob every where.

There was probably too another co-operating cauſe to all that eagerneſs with which the public here embraced any ſucceſſes of that monarch, and hailed them as thoſe of the nation. A cauſe that may be now mentioned with the leſs repugnance, for that having ceaſed in a great meaſure, the reproach it conveyed ceaſes with it; and that is the prodigious indolence which not long ſince ſeemed the epidemical diſeaſe of the times, with which all orders and conditions were infected, and which was but too much flattered, at ſeeing the work of the nation doing by others to its hand. Perhaps even this ſight contributed at length to raiſe a ſpirit of emulation. If ſo, it cannot be ranked amongſt the leaſt obligations of this country to his P—— M——. May that ſpirit fall under a direction equal to its merit; nor be evaporated and conſumed in waſte upon crude, undigeſted, uneffectual operations, or unnational meaſures!

Parva ſunt foris arma, niſi eſt conſilium domi.
TULL.

But if miſtaken ſelfiſhneſs, or impetuous ignorance, were excluded all judgment on a prince intrinſically too eſtimable to be much honored by their eſtimate; cooler common-ſenſe would not perhaps repreſent in vain, that nothing ſo tranſitory as the greatneſs of his perſonal character ought to influence that political conduct of ours, which ſhould have more permanent objects and that the glare of his ſucceſſes ought not to dazzle us to the point of not ſeeing that they are miſleading him, or to the point of our being miſled by them ourſelves. As things are, he is one of thoſe very rare princes that reflect more honor to a crown than they receive from it. But even himſelf would probably now ſubſcribe to the truth of what is here advanced, that, ſo far as conjecture can approach to probability, he would have ſtill been much greater, and much more ſecure in that greatneſs, if with thoſe excellent troops of which he was at the head, he had waited events tranquilly in his own dominions; if untempted by the conveniency Saxony offered him of laying her under contribution to the war he was meditating, he had abſtained from

from giving his enemies the advantage of having thoſe laws of the empire on their ſide, which it is either ſuch profound ignorance or ſo falſe reaſoning to ſuppoſe only a vain name.

He has been compared to Ceſar. The compariſon is juſt in many points; but well examined has more in it of an invidious admonition, than of the delicacy of true praiſe. Ceſar found the conſtitution of his country ſhaken by civil diſſentions. The laws of it were like a fair tree, by ſtorms bent towards the earth. Inſtead of applying his admirable parts to the ſetting it upright, and making it floriſh again, he felled it, and by felling it, deprived himſelf of that ſhelter, under the ſhade of which his country, himſelf, and family, might have long ſat happy, their contrary fate, who does not know? or who can call his ſucceſs a deſirable one?

In the mean time, how truly deplorable is the dilemma to which ſo many of the princes of Germany are reduced! If when ſummoned in form by the laws of the empire, they refuſe to ſend their contingent towards forming an army of execution, they incur a ſevere

ſevere penalty. If they furniſh that contingent, his Pruſſian Majeſty ſends them a cavalier meſſage, that he ſhall treat them as Hanover and Heſſe have been, as if their caſe, as to him, was not eſſentially different.

But if this continental connexion carries with it that great merit for which its advocates contend, at leaſt they muſt allow no ſmall ſhare of it to Hanover, without which, it is not very probable, that Great Britain would have ſo eagerly ſued for an alliance to a power, of which not many years ago it ſcarce knew the name, till the Germaniſm of our politics had made it ſo familiar to us.

This naturally leads to a diſcuſſion of the preſent ſtate with reſpect to Britain, of that electorate now ſo cloſely united to it, in virtue of the identity of their ſovereign.

There have been, and perhaps ſtill are, two opinions concerning it, both oppoſite, and both falſe, in their different extream.

The one excluded all conſideration of Hanover; all ſufferance of its entering into our councils for any thing, or for ſcarce more than if, as to us, is had diſappeared from the face of the earth. It was, in ſhort

to

to be treated as a dominion, that was purely a province of Germany, abſolutely foreign to Britain, and with which all political connexion was induſtriouſly to be avoided. But it muſt be confeſſed that much the greater number of thoſe who affected this opinion, affected it from party-views, from the captiouſneſs of diſaffection, or as a text for factious declamation, rather than from the ſuggeſtions of ſound policy, or clear-ſpirited patriotiſm. This being penetrated by the public, weakened to it the influence of a doctrine, that if ſomewhat moderated, for its tendency to the good of both dominions, not the Hanoverians themſelves could have too ſtrenuouſly urged.

The other opinion, and the muſt ruinous one, ſince it aſſigned to Hanover the part that belonged more properly to Britain, was the opinion that unhappily prevailed in practice, ſometimes ſo inſenſible that even thoſe with whom it did prevail, did not perhaps ſo much as know it. To this opinion however, but for the obviouſly perpoſterous policy of it, even the name of virtue might be granted in a native of that electorate.

But

But what name ſhall be given to it in a Briton? What name can be given to thoſe perſonages here, who regardleſs of their own dignity, to ſay nothing of that of the nation, regardleſs of their own welfare ſo intimately connected with that of their country, ſubmitted to make their court by adopting and co-operating to the ſyſtems built on ſo falſe a foundation? Who did not, in ſhort, feel that power held by ſuch a tenure was beneath acceptance? To ſay that they did not foreſee the conſequences ſuch or nearly ſuch as they have come out, would do too little honor to their reach of penetration not to be conſidered rather as an affront than as an apology.

After all, what could be a clearer rule of judgment than the knowledge of the true ſtate of thoſe foreign dominions? They had been lately indeed raiſed to the dignity of an electorate, but had been long ſo inconſiderable, that till within theſe few years hiſtory had hardly deigned to take charge of the name of them. Nor had they ſo much weight as to claim the leaſt ſhare in the ſyſtem of Europe, but remained involved and undiſtinguiſhed amongſt the other little ſtates of the empire.

The

The epoch of their firſt emerging into importance enough to have any thing of a name among nations, was the acceſſion of their ſovereign to the throne of Great Britain, eſpecially after that electorate's pecuniary conqueſt of Bremen and Verden. Theſe provinces were part of the ſpoils of Charles the twelfth of Sweden, purchaſed by the elector of Hanover, as it has been invidiouſly, tho' not entirely without reaſon, ſaid with Britiſh money. However that may be, the Swedes, whoſe weakneſs, juſt after that period, was ſuch that they could not hope to recover them by force of arms, and whoſe neceſſities were ſo urgent, that they could not refuſe a ſum of money for their ratification of the ſale by Denmark of them, though tranſacted at a time that we were in profound peace with Sweden, could never heartily digeſt this advantage taken of their diſtreſſes, nor look on that bargain as thoroughly valid in equity. Thence the alienation of that court to Britain, for a reaſon ſo foreign to Britain, which has thrown the Swedes ſo much into the arms of France. And here be it digreſſively remarked, that France is now ſeen with her uſual verſatility

wherever her intereſt is concerned, affecting to ſtand by even the cauſe of liberty in Sweden, and to approve of the ſacrifice made to it, with a truly Britiſh ſpirit, of ſome of her nobleſt blood on a ſcaffold, for a conſpiracy to rob that nation of its freedom, and to reſtore that arbitrary power by which it had ſo recently been brought to the brink of ruin.

But to return to the ſubject: Hanover thus aggrandized by the acceſſion of thoſe two provinces, and pampered with all the cheriſhment of a fond father to his darling child, loſt its mediocrity, but its ſafety withall. Beſides, that its co-eſtates in Germany, beheld with an eye of envy, both its growing greatneſs, and the preference conſtantly given to it, as well as to thoſe provinces in more immediate relation with it, in all thoſe bargains for which the princes there trading in the blood of their unhappy ſubjects, are ſo ravenous; thoſe powers occaſionally, in enmity to Great Britain, who knew how much her inſular ſituation rendered her inacceſſible to them, knew they could not wound his Britannic Majeſty in a more tender part than his electoral dominions. That affectation of dragging them for ever, directly or indi-

directly, tacitly or expreſsly, into negotiations, tranſactions and treaties, where they had intrinſically as little to do as the mighty kingdoms of Lilliput or Blefuſcu, had not alſo a little contributed to force that vulnerable part into too conſpicuous a light for it to be miſſed. Of this the French have lately taken the unfair advantage. But whatever Hanover may have ſuffered from an invaſion, it is granted, might never have taken place but for its connexion with this nation; not to that connexion but to the abuſe of it, ſhould that electorate impute its misfortunes. And who was the cauſe of that abuſe? moſt certainly not this nation. The ſound part of it conſtantly proteſted againſt it. It muſt be ſought for then in that overfondneſs for it, ſo highly diſguſtful and ſo pernicious to this country, in that humor of which the electoral counſellors were either not clear-ſighted, or not ſincere enough to remonſtrate effectually the conſequences, and to which, with yet greater guilt and folly, there were too often found perſonages here not aſhamed to ſacrifice their duty to their country and to their king: and inſtead of

oppoſing, to flatter it by the moſt diſloyal of ſervices.

In all this however, Britain itſelf was perfectly innocent, and even injured by it. Yet ſhe loves her ſovereign too well not only to lament on his account her own ſufferings by ſo falſe a policy, ſince they muſt proportionably affect that intereſt and dignity of his ſo inſeparable from her own; but to lament even the ſufferings of that electorate, which is ſo dear to him. She would ſee with pleaſure its wrongs revenged, but revenged in the moſt effectual manner, by her operations againſt the common enemy, entirely on a Britiſh plan, without any ſuch entanglement with the continent as can only weaken them. So far from thinking that Hanover deſerves no conſideration from us, juſtice, loyalty, and even the honor of the nation require, that a reparation of the damages it has ſuſtained on our account ſhould be indiſpenſably made one of the conditions of a future treaty of peace. Any other way of conſidering that electorate, would only unprofitably to it, rob, at every turn, this nation of the ineſtimable advantage

tage of its inſular ſituation. In this view it was that our anceſtors reputed the loſs of Normandy to this crown, a clear gain to the nation: and in this ſenſe it is, that every continental acceſſion of dominion in Europe to this country, already ſufficient to itſelf, would be rather a weakening than an advantage to it. It is this opinion, of the juſtice and good policy of which all Europe is ſatisfied, that does or ought to invite her thorough confidence in a nation from which all ſpirit of conqueſt is ſo naturally excluded. Can the French ſay as much?

An admiſſion then, eſpecially in ſuch an over-doſe of ſo heterogeneous a mixture, as that of the intereſt of a province of a foreign ſtate, into the Britiſh ſyſtem of politics, could only ſpoil both. It could only produce, what it has done, eſſential faults and meaſures deſtructive to both. This was ſo glaring, that our natural enemies even affected to pity us whilſt they took the advantage of it. Our natural friends grew ſhy, and diſtruſtful of us; and, in truth, how could they but deſert us, when they ſaw us manifeſtly deſerting ourſelves, or, at leaſt, conſtantly ſubordinating our meaſures to intereſts

tereſts not our own? nor need we to look out for another cauſe, why we ſaw ourſelves, without proper friends and allies, at our greateſt need of them. For certainly the diſclaiming of improper continental connexions, does not imply any thing ſo abſurd or ſo impoliſtic as an undiſtinguiſhing condemnation of all, or of ſuch as are not liable to ſuperior objections. It rather means the contrary; or at leaſt no more than that the utmoſt diſcernment and reſerve ſhould be obſerved in contracting any. A circumſpection of which England was ſo happy as to have one admirable Queen that left us the ſtandard and example.

Unhappily there are times when reaſon and even experience put in their pleas in vain; when the groſſeſt errors are thought to be beſt defended and repaired, by an intrepid perſeverance in them; when, in ſhort, thoſe who give motions to things, determinately and bravingly prefer momentary points of private intereſt, of power, and even of a petty partial humor, to the permanent ſyſtem of national welfare.

How far this is, or is not the caſe with reſpect to Hanover at preſent, is ſubmitted to whoever, on examining certain facts impoſſible, from their notoriety, to be miſrepre-

preſented to him, may think his reaſon put to a nobler uſe in getting rid of a prejudice than in defending it, right or wrong; or ſhall dare to treat a falſe opinion, like a falſe friend, diſcard it the inſtant he diſcovers it.

D'Etrees, the French general, having been ſacrificed to a court cabal, had quitted his command, and delivered up his army to his ſucceſſor Richelieu. The military reputation of this man had been but very little raiſed by the ſurrender of Minorca to him, amongſt the French eſpecially, to whom the defence of that place had not appeared in quite ſo high a light as the title and the ribbon conferred on the perſon who loſt it, atteſted here. The current opinion of his being leſs the officer than the courtier, he verified by carrying into his command all the rapaciouſneſs of his court, of which the edge was yet the keener for the inſtigation of neceſſity to repair the ruins of his private fortune. At once to make himſelf popular with the ſoldiers, and to cover his own avidity for pillage by indulging theirs, he ſet the door open to the utmoſt licentiouſneſs. By this means, he broke that admirable diſcipline under which D'Etrees

had left him the army, and which is ever the greateſt ſtrength of one. This ſoon made him deteſted by the Hanoverians, powerleſs over the ſoldiers, and contemptible to both. It was the conduct of this baſhaw of the Sultan of the Weſt that paved the way for the revolution that followed, by that army of obſervation's taking up arms again, which the convention of neutrality at Cloſter-ſeven had made it lay down. But it was not till juſt after that rout of ſchool-boys at Roſbach, when the pitifull run-away figure the French made, might have rendered them almoſt ſuſpected of a colluſive game with Pruſſia, that this ſpirit of the Hanoverians and Heſſians declared itſelf.

Yet however infamouſly or groſly the French might have been originally the violators of that convention, certain it is that their defeat at Roſbach being the epoch of the Hanoverians, &c. breaking out into action, was not favorable to the opinion it were to be wiſhed that Europe ſhould entertain of the juſtice of this ſtep. The French, at leaſt, made a handle of the ſhare they attributed to Britain in it, to make every

every court in it reſound with complaints of the perfidiouſneſs of this breach; and with inſinuations that no thing was ſacred to this nation that ſhould ſtand in competition with a point of intereſt. This was one more conſequence of our interfering with Hanoverian councils.

Many indeed here thought this reſumption of arms a maſter-ſtroke of policy in whoever were the authors of it. If they were Engliſhmen, it is to be ſuppoſed they were thoroughly ſatisfied of the fairneſs of that procedure, without which they could have ſo little right to be vain of their ſhare in it, ſince nothing on earth can be more certain than the ruin of that nation which ſhould prefer its intereſt to its honor. Allowing then the juſtice of this meaſure to be out of the queſtion, it ſtill admits of a doubt, whether there even exiſted that intereſt to which that honor was ſo falſely ſaid to have been ſacrificed; whether any thing could be more indifferent to Britain than this breach of the convention; whether, in ſhort, the faireſt of occaſions was not miſſed of her untwiſting with a country, the connexion with which had never but coſt her more than it was worth.

The army of obſervation might, with ſome ſhew of plauſibility, be in the pay of Britain to defend a ſtate attacked purely on her account, and in conſequence of that entanglement to which ſhe is ſo fatally obnoxious from their unity of ſubjection to the ſame ſovereign. But when that convention was made, which it will be confeſt by all parties was better never to have been made, or never to have been broken, on which ever ſide it was broken, it was notoriouſly made without the approbation of the Britiſh government. At leaſt the regency of Hanover took that ſtep entirely upon itſelf; and ſince it had ſo, the conſequences were all its own. Britain had no farther to do with it; and notwithſtanding all the mighty merit pleaded of engaging thoſe troops to reſume their arms, and accept the ſweets of Britiſh pay; the advantages redounding purely to Britain from that meaſure, are not perhaps ſo prodigious as they have been ſounded or believed.

This point the more requires examination, for that nothing is more common, than for little ſuperficical ſtateſmen to be caught by the bait of a preſent ſeeming advantage; their

their eagerneſs to ſeize which blinds them to the inſidiouſneſs of it. In their hurry to enjoy a falſe reputation of vigilance and activity, they ruſh headlong into the tempting error, and it is much if their power and popularity do not make it the error, as well as the misfortune of the nation.

Facts will beſt explain how far this obſervation is applicable or not in the preſent caſe.

Whilſt the convention remained yet in force, if the Hanoverians, &c. inſtead of being excited by us, as it is to be hoped they were not, to break it, had of themſelves conſulted our miniſters on what they had to do; might not an anſwer have been given them with great juſtice and propriety to the following effect? "That ſince "they had made the convention without "our participation, though even in our pay, "they might juſt keep it or break it, as "they pleaſed: that whatever they did was, "and ought to be, perfectly indifferent to "this nation." If it ſhould be replied, that in fact it was not indifferent, but that the breach of the convention was uſeful to us. So much the worſe. The honor of

the nation, ſo ſuperior to every other confideration, muſt proportionably incur ſuſpicion. Europe might then impute the breach not to its juſtice, but to the advantage of it to us; and that advantage, alas! how queſtionable?

Juſt at the time the convention was on the point of being broke, the French were, it is true, in a condition to invite that breach. Nature, which ſeems to have ſet thoſe bounds to the ambition of the French, which their reſtleſſneſs of ſpirit has refuſed them, had upon them her uſual effect, whenever they attempt enterprizes at any remote diſtance from their frontiers. There they have often had the climate to conquer, when they had conquered every thing elſe. Italy and Germay, as all hiſtory atteſts, are in poſſeſſion of the title of French burying-grounds. Hanover had, on this occaſion, proved no exception to this general rule. Diſeaſes had already thinned their army there, more than the ſword had done before, or ſince its expulſion. The uſual conſequences too of licentiouſneſs and indiſcipline had rendered uneffective thoſe ſoldiers that remained. The Hanoverian ſub-

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jects, who had begun with dreading them, were from a nearer inſpection and familiarity with theſe diſorderly rag-a-muffin gueſts, grown to deſpiſe them. This riſing ſpirit, they naturally communicated to thoſe of their countrymen, who had only grounded their arms, but were ſtill maſters of them, and who were too brave to continue any longer tame ſpectators of the ſufferings and groans of their country. Had the French even not broke the convention, ſuch a toleration could not well be expected from men of courage. The common ſoldiers eſpecially, carried away by their feelings for their families and friends, could not but be in a mood to break alike through the reſtraint of treaties or of officers. The fault then, if any, was Richelieu's, who ought either to have held a better conduct, or not have left them their arms in their hands.

Thus the Hanoverians ſcarcely needed the ſuper-inducement of Britiſh pay to take the advantage of their enemy's actual condition, and to drive him out of the heart of their own country. But as to Britain, where was the advantage, unleſs the plea-

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ſure of ſeeing Hanover get rid of ſuch irkſome inmates? otherwiſe the beſt office that could poſſibly be done that army was to haſten its retreat, and that retreat particularly to its own country. For no army, could it have joined, but it muſt have weakened, or even endangered it, by the double contagion of its maladies and licentiouſneſs. To recruit, to recover it, to reſtore its diſcipline, it was abſolutely neceſſary for it to fall back upon the French frontiers. Aſk the French then of that army, they will tell you they would not have ſtaid in Hanover, had they been paid as much for ſtaying there, as the Hanoverians were paid for driving them out: and in this they may for once be believed, becauſe it could not be otherwiſe. They had exhauſted all thoſe parts, of themſelves not the moſt fruitful, to a point that they could no longer furniſh ſubſiſtence to them, or even to the poor plundered inhabitants, who were reduced to ſtreights ſcarce ſhort of famine. As to the haraſſment they met with in their retreat, it was no more than they could well lay their account with from a prince ſo gallant, and ſo active as the prince Ferdinand

dinand at the head of troops actuated by all the incentives of revenge, of honor, and of juſtice to the Britiſh nation, for the pay they received from it. In their way home, however, they took care to drop a ſtrong garriſon into Weſel, that place ſo dangerouſly ſlighted by Pruſſia. But in all this, what was there done, that could affect us? The retreat of the French was evidently matter of courſe, nor could the quickening their march and ſeeing them ſafe home be of much diſſervice to France; the ridding the electorate of them might be a merit to Hanover; but in what could Britain benefit by the return of thoſe forces ſo much nearer home, where their recollecting their ſtrength muſt be ſo much more convenient than at that diſtance, that they were rotting and mouldering away of themſelves, in a manner to ſpare the ſword the trouble of exterminating them?

The diverſion, however, cauſed to the French by this army of Hanoverians, Heſſions, &c. has doubtleſs ſome weight; but whether that weight over-ballances the expence to Britain of them, and whether that expence might not be appropriated to more direct, more neceſſary, and more effectual

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plans of operation, is well worth a fair and impartial conſideration. Even the tenderneſs due to the Hanoverians, requires a diſcuſſion, whether their preſent ſubſerviency to the Britiſh, or perhaps rather to the Pruſſian meaſures, can anſwer any valuable end to themſelves; eſpecially ſince their country is out of all condition to invite the renewal of an invaſion, unleſs a ſpirit of revenge ſhould prevail over every other conſideration. But againſt any future attempt, it would be perhaps better defended by our doing, with more honor to ourſelves, any thing elſe to divert and diſable the French, than by an oppoſition in the very part where they ought to wiſh an oppoſition to be made, ſince it muſt be made with the leaſt effect, and at the greateſt coſt to us.

The authority of the greateſt generals, ſupported withal by common ſenſe and experience, invincibly atteſts, that any attack on the French at home, or on their frontiers, cannot but be fruitleſs, without ſuch a paramount force as may at once face all the demands of war for battles and for ſieges. Any force inferior to that point of ſtrength, is only a force thrown away, without

out any rational proſpect of ſucceſs. It is the very game the French deſire, who can then wage the war at all advantages. Always the braveſt on their own dnghill; they can fight, or let it alone, juſt as they pleaſe, or as they ſpy the favorable moment. The ſupplies for their forces are as eaſy, as they are difficult for their enemy. In caſe of a defeat, they have not only re-inforcements ready at hand, but a ſecure retreat under the number of fortified places with which their frontiers are briſtled. In ſhort, for baffling, for tiring out, for deſtroying an enemy, they deſire no better than to have him come home to them, and ſpare them the fatigue, the expence, and the riſk of ſeeking him, at a diſtance from their frontiers, when they rarely but make the worſt of figures.

One would imagine that the retroſpect of the enterprizes made of late years, on thoſe frontiers might ſufficiently eſtabliſh the improbability of making any conſiderable impreſſion on the French territories. Even two or three battles won by the Hanoverians, &c. could but weaken themſelves, and bring them no nearer any point worth their hav-

ing in view, whilſt their own loſs, however leſs than that of the French, muſt hurt themſelves more, and be more irreparable. The ſum of things would, at the ſame time, be little or nothing affected by it.

There is no-one can deny that the advantage gained by the gallant Prince Ferdinand, at the affair of Crevelt, was great enough to deſerve the proclamation of it by the mouths of the Tower-guns, and by a ſolemn thanſkgiving. Otherwiſe it would have been mocking both God and man, and that palpably to no purpoſe, but to make the ſending of troops from here to Germany go down the more glib, with the ſoldiery and the people, under all the ſmoke and flaſh of that recent ſucceſs. Be it then granted that it really was as great as ſo great a celebration requires it to be thought, and that no ſtateſman could deſcend to ſo poor a ſtate-trick, as the exageration of it would have been. But even our moſt authentic gazette gives permiſſion for not thinking that action any ways a deciſive one. This allowed, the conſequence proceeds unſhaken, at leaſt, by that inſtance, in favor of the eſtabliſhed maxim of declining war with the French,

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on their own frontiers, unleſs with ſuch a force as amounts to much more than what is already employed there, or can be ſent from hence to join it, and which could therefore be only unneceſſarily thrown away.

Such at leaſt was the well-known ſenſe of the great Duke of Marlborough, than whom no man, ſince the days of Henry the fifth, had done more than himſelf to level the power of France in the duſt. Happy would it have been for this nation and for Europe, if a little, dirty, jealous, power-hunting Court-cabal had not ſnatched the ſword out of his hands juſt as he was on the point of giving that nation the finiſhing blow. France was then exhauſted by a long war, and an humble ſupplicant for a peace that ought never to have been granted her but on the original terms of the grand alliance; and yet the Duke did not conceive it practicable to overwhelm her without the whole force of it. He was much too great a man to give into gaſconades, or into crude viſionary projects, and yet leſs capable of deſpiſing an enemy, or of diſhonoring himſelf and his nation, by acting a ſubaltern part under the greateſt power in Europe. And

here let an Engliſhman ſtop but for an inſtant, and compare the ſtate of things as they *then* were, to what *they now are*. Our nation was then plainly at the head of the greateſt powers in Europe combined againſt the ambition of France: her cauſe was no leſs than the liberties of mankind: ſhe was the life, the ſupport of the whole confederacy, as it evidently appeared from that inſtant ſhe, fatally for herſelf, and for the cauſe ſhe had ſo nearly brought to the wiſhed for iſſue, withdrew her aid and influence. At preſent, behold her renounced or at leaſt cooly regarded by all her ancient allies, and glad to throw her alliance at the head of a prince, never over-favorable to her, and actually under the ban of the Empire, to whom ſhe thinks herſelf obliged humbly to ſue for his gracious acceptance of her ſubſidies and troops, not without all the appearances of being content to act a ſubaltern part. This diſpoſition of things was reſerved for theſe honorable times. Nay, ſome here have ſo thoroughly forgot the dignity of their own nation, as to contend for its being no degradation for a Britiſh commander, not to be commander in chief, as if it was

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poſſible to find one ſo loſt to all ſenſe of his own honor, or of that of the nation, as to ſtoop to ſub-general it even to ſo renowned and great an officer as the gallant Prince Ferdinand. Many nations have indeed employed foreign generals: with the Venetians it is even a ſtanding ſtate-maxim to employ none but them. But for a nation ſo great, ſo powerful as ours, a nation that may diſpute rank with the firſt in Europe, to pay ſuch a deference to another as to ſuffer her generals to receive directions of operation, or orders from any but their own immediate ſovereign, would be, perhaps, without example. It is not therefore credible. Even the Prince who ſhould avail himſelf of ſo wretched a complaiſance, could not but, in the courſe of things, and with his excellent ſenſe, repay it with the moſt cool, and determinate contempt. It cannot then be but ſuppoſed that ſome expedient, ſome ſalvo has been found out for the adjuſtment of rank and precedence: but granting what it muſt be ſo grating to grant, that Britain no longer breeds generals capable of ſupporting the honor of her arms abroad, which ſhe muſt therefore give into keeping to a

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foreign one, the queſtion will but occur the ſtranger, whether there is any abſolute neceſſity for thus ſhowing her nakedneſs, or for ſending any forces at all to the continent? It may ſtill be aſked, if it is ſo very eligible a meaſure, in forfeiture of the advantages of our inſular ſituation, to ſneak over our countrymen in ſo diſgraceful a manner, and in ſo incompetent a number, to encounter the French, preciſely where it is ſo convenient for the French to encounter them? where their preferable wiſh muſt be, that we ſhould ſend and ſacrifice as many more to them as ſhould be juſt not ſufficient to do any thing material for the honor or advantage of the nation. The moſt ſenſible alternative would perhaps be either to ſend a royal army fit to command ſucceſs, or if that is neither convenient nor practicable, not to ſend a ſingle troop of horſe, even though the Hanoverians, &c. ſhould be deficient in cavalry, and require ours to ſupply that deficiency, ſince, humanly ſpeaking, it would only ſerve to ſhew, what one would imagine had been already but too much ſhown, how wrong we can take our meaſures. Nor will it hardly be otherwiſe, till all our Germa-

niſm is happily eradicated out of our politics, or at leaſt ſuffered to retain no more ſhare in them than it ought to have.

In the mean time what muſt all Europe think of our cheapneſs and conduct? What muſt the Dutch eſpecially? And can we be ſurprized at their not being forward to connect with us? Can they be ſuppoſed to have forgot the peace of Utrecht? or have our politics been ſo admirable ſince as to tempt them to embark once more on ſo crazy a bottom as ours? Is it any wonder that the French party ſhould prevail there, when it has ſo many popular topics of declamation againſt us? The reſtoration imputed to us of the Stadholderate, ſo ſolemnly abjured by the Burgomaſters, on whoſe authority it ſo ſenſibly intrenches; the uſage of their merchantmen by our privateers, who, if not encouraged, are perhaps not enough controuled; and above all that doubtleſs falſe charge againſt this Government of ſtirring up a ſedition in their dreadfull mob againſt the magiſtrates, are points in which the French have all the ſcope they could wiſh to diſplay their inſidious rhetoric and diſreſpect to truth. The people there are but too apt to liſten to any

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ſuggeſtions againſt a nation that muſt have long appeared to them in ſo contemptible, ſo ridiculous a light. If we would have them of others do juſtice to us, we ſhould begin by doing juſtice ourſelves.

But how little has that ſpirit in general prevailed amongſt us! How cruel an injuſtice have Britons done to themſelves in triumphing when they had ſo little occaſion! For, after all, what has been done, of great or material by them ſince the commencement of the war? A few ſtraggling French men of war, the captures of ſquadrons, or what is near the ſame thing, in the ſight of ſquadrons: the ſucceſs in Bengall, to which we muſt wait for its epithet of favorable or unfavorable, according to the turn it may take in that unſettled country; the taking a ſmall fort in Africa; the damage done to the French trade by our cruizers; the burning of the ſhips before St. Maloes; are all objects, which however detrimental to our enemy, a true Briton would diſdain to lay a ſtreſs on, much more to exagerate, ſince they are all, from the nature of them, infinitely beneath the juſt pretentions of this nation to

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valor and ſtrength. At leaſt, ſuch ſentiments can be no offence to the nation.

To ſay the truth, the loſs of Minorca alone is perhaps a more than counterballance to all our gains hitherto: to ſay nothing of Braddocks defeat, or of the ſcurvy figure we have made in America, notwithſtanding our ſo incomparable a ſuperiority of forces there to thoſe of the French. May the taking of Cape-Briton, which is hardly to be miſſed, if the attack ſhould be, as no doubt it is, in hands equal to the ſervice, give us a real occaſion for ſaying *ſomething* has been done! May the people of this nation have that opportunity of congratulating themſelves on the ſucceſs of a meaſure that is all their own! and may it never again become a ſacrifice to continental reſpects!

But in pleading for juſtice to ourſelves, let not that owing to our enemies be forgot, even for our own ſakes! Nothing, in fact, can be more pernicious to our intereſt, than the taking falſe meaſures of the ſtate of France; and nothing has been oftener the caſe. To compleat all the ridicule and nonſenſe of the times, it was, till lately,

wanting that the very ſame perſonages, who not long ſince, from the uſual effect of fear to magnify objects, had exagerated the power of France beyond all meaſure of truth, and repreſented her as a tremendous over-match for Britain, ſhould on the flattering gleam to us of a few events unfavorable to France, and thoſe more owing to herſelf than to Britain, all of a ſudden change their note, and depreciate the force of France with as little reaſon as they had before exalted it.

The truth is, that at her higheſt, whilſt we preſerve our naval ſuperiority, keep a competent army, and eſpecially an effectual militia, Britain, if ſhe but knows her own ſtrength, and is happy enough to have it ably directed and adminiſtered, has leſs to dread from France, than France has from her. Much has been ſaid of her populouſneſs, and of the eaſe with which France can raiſe numerous armies. But this was ever much exagerated, and is at this time entirely falſe. She is greatly deficient in able men for the military ſervice. The Generalities on whom the levies are repartitioned have long complained of their incapacity to furniſh

furniſh them. In this, her weakneſs may be averred. But whilſt juſt notions are formed of that weakneſs, nothing can be more ridiculous, nor even more dangerous, than to under-rate her actual ſtrength. In the firſt place, if the very natute of her arbitrary government, ſo unfavorable to public credit; if the late checks ſhe has met with in Germany; if her trade overwhelmed by our captures, have created her difficulties in raiſing money, ſhe has ſtill great reſources, and is not at leaſt crouching under a burthen of near a hundred millions of debt: a burthen which though it ſits ſo light and eaſy on our ſhoulders, would probably ſink her. That interruption to her trade too is not ſo deadly a blow as it would have been, had ſhe not been too wiſe to leave herſelf nothing but her commerce to truſt to, and to let her military ſpirit be entirely ſacrificed to a mercantile one. Her government ſaw the great advantage of bringing trade into the kingdom, and ſteddily purſued it; but not to ſuch a pernicious exceſs as to throw the whole kingdom into trade. So far from affecting or ſounding emphatically the title of a trading nation,

ſhe appears to deſpiſe it as much as ſhe would that of a nation without trade. Money has all the weight with her that it ought to have, but is not preferred to every thing, that is great, noble, and ſacred. It is not made the common meaſure of every thing, and even of thoſe things with which it never can but ruinouſly and infamouſly be ſuffered to mix: ſuch as honor, perſonal merit, talents, patriotiſm. In ſhort, that nation is not yet degenerated into a vile collection of mercenaries, jobbers, and idlers, as uncapable of honoring as of defending their country. Her military ſpirit ſtill preſerved will probably preſerve her. Her politics, dangerous as they are to the liberties of Europe, are not only maſked under that art of fair appearances, in which ſhe excels, but the ſpirit of them ſteddily proceeds even where the blunders and follies of her court ſometimes counter-act, and defeat its ſuggeſtions. Even in that land of ſlaves they have found a better way of manning their navy, than the infamous manner of preſſing, in practice upon free-born men here: men who muſt conſequently carry on board with them all that diſguſt to the ſervice, all that refractorineſs natural

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for them to feel, on being obliged to defend the liberties of thoſe who have robbed them of their own, and to fight for a country it would be but a virtue in them to look on no longer as their country, ſince as to them, it is abſolutely not a free one: whilſt it muſt gall them but the more to find themſelves the only ſlaves in it; they who from their ſuperior uſefulneſs ſo little deſerve ſuch treatment. Of that, to us, invaluable iſland of Minorca, France is already in poſſeſſion. She has two cautionary places in the Auſtrian Netherlands, of which ſhe will hardly diſſeize herſelf without an ample conſideration. With all our vigilance and ſuperiority at ſea, ſhe has found means to ſmuggle ſupplies into Canada and Cape-Breton, it is to be hoped, much in vain. She has not neglected even ſo remote, but ſo infinitely important a concern as that of the Eaſt-Indies, where ſhe has ſent Lally (ſaid to be dead) with three thouſand choice men, not the ſweepings of ſtreets and jails, with ſhips in proportion, before that force ſent from hence could well arrive in time to defeat their effect. Is the force too we have oppoſed to them there ſufficient? She is repairing,

repairing, with her uſual activity, her loſſes in Germany, and may perhaps not imitate us in diſdaining to be the wiſer for the blunders ſhe has committed there, and of which we have loſt the advantage by the part which we have taken. Theſe truths may be ill received, or even rejected by thoſe who would have every thing to be falſe, that is not true to their liking. But the ſeeing them fairly ſtated, cannot but be acceptable to all, who prefer the charm and ſafety of truth to the dangerous illuſions of error, eſpecially where the taking juſt meaſures againſt a mortal enemy depends on the undeception. And ſurely nothing ought to be more execrable to a Briton, than the lulling him to ſleep with flattering or ſoothing impoſitions; not only as they imply a mean opinion of his underſtanding, and as they affect his welfare ſo intimately connected with that of the nation, but as they tend to make even himſelf ſo unnaturally inſtrumental to the ruin of both. For the opinion of no Briton is abſolutely indifferent to the conduct of things, ſince every Briton, by the happy conſtitution of his country, enjoys, by himſelf or his repre-

repreſentatives, ſome ſhare in the public authority; to the ſupport of which he muſt pay with ſo much the more chearfulneſs, if he has reaſon to be ſatisfied with its adminiſtration. To ſay the truth too the bulk of the people is always well-intentioned, as having none of the by-views, and pitifully falſe diſtinct intereſts that influence the men of power, to drive it off its natural inſtinct of ſelf-preſervation, and paſſion for the maintenance of the national honor, in which the meaneſt individual in the nation ſo juſtly claims a ſhare. In ſhort, it is rarely wrong, but when it is artfully miſ-guided; or miſ-informed: and even then it ſtill retains a ſmothered ſpark of juſtce and common ſenſe that is ſure to break out again, and does not ſuffer it long to continue under the illuſion.

But of all the opinions that have prevailed in practice concering France, not one perhaps more obviouſly admits, at leaſt, of a doubt of its juſtneſs, or more deſerves examination, then that on which the late expeditions againſt her have been founded.

Of the one againſt Rochfort, it would be vain and ſuperfluous to ſay any thing here. Thoſe who ſtill admire the plan of

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it, will hardly change their minds for any thing that can be ſaid of it now, which could only be repetition. Thoſe who heartily deſpiſed it, can as little be liable to alter their opinion, eſpecially with ſo much reaſon to be confirmed in it, by the return of the forces on the laſt expedition, after doing no more than what forms ſo admirable an apology for the commanders on the firſt one. For as to the burning of the veſſels before St. Maloes, let all the merit be granted to that exploit that it can juſtly claim. It may have done a conſiderable, and not eaſily reparable damage to the enemy. It was cutting the very ſinews of their power to annoy our trade. If it may be ſaid that it was purely an accident of over-caution in the French that threw thoſe veſſels into the way of our forces, and that being moſtly private property, the conſequence was driving a number of hands into the French navy; let ſuch an obſervation be treated as a merely invidious detraction. Still it may be averred, and averred rather as a juſt compliment, than injuriouſly to the firſt lord of the admiralty, and to one of our greateſt *names* in war, that ſuch an operation, not being

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of an over-heroic or indeed very military nature, could not, alone, do either the nation or them any honor proportionable to the expectation raiſed by their being employed in it, eſpecially in thoſe who did not know how little it was poſſible for them to do.

But there has been one objection made againſt this kind of expeditions, which certainly deſerves for its falſity to be exploded, even by thoſe who do not admire them. For truth is above every thing. That objection is the expence. But thoſe who make fair eſtimates of things, muſt allow that of all the expences incurred in the purſuit of the war; this is not the leaſt plauſible one, ſince the whole of it may be ſaid to be kept in the nation, where it becomes a general benefit, diffuſes life and ſpirit through the land, encourages a number of valuable trades; and ultimately in a great meaſure re-circulates, in form of taxes, into the treaſury from whence it iſſued. At leaſt, how preferable is this diſpoſal of the public money, to its being, abſolutely for not one valuable or ſenſible purpoſe ingulphed in a country "from whoſe bourn no travelling "guinea ever returns!"

No! the true objection to theſe expeditions, is much ſuperior and quite of another nature. It is their utter inſignificance, and the ridicule that always attends the employing of means, or diſproportioned, or foreign to the ends apparently propoſed.

If the point of view was making a diverſion in favor of our dear friends and allies in Germany, one body of whom, perhaps, it would be ſtill better to wiſh well re-paſſed the Rhine again; there could not be a more unjudicious one. Though ſome here might be ignorant of the French coaſt; or be carried away by the impetuoſity of that vulgar ſpirit of perſiſtence in meaſures, of which themſelves were the fond fathers, it cannot be ſuppoſed that he French themſelves did not know all that they had to fear from all the force they knew we had to employ on that miſſion. They could not but know, that penetrating into the interior of the kingdom, was no part of our plan, and that as to the ſea-coaſt, which could alone be the object of our operations, thoſe fortified places of theirs worth attacking, were all proof againſt what we are pleaſed to call here a vigorous impreſſion.

preſſion; that their harbours are even from their badneſs inacceſſible to our naval force, and that as to our land-one, it could not be but too inconſiderable to attempt ſieges. What then was there in ſuch an armament, that could alarm or deter them from ſending a ſingle file of muſqueteers leſs to Germany, than they originally intended? Even their militia might be ſufficient to guard their coaſt, as much as it was neceſſary to be guarded againſt thoſe, whoſe object could not be an invaſion, or but at moſt, a deſcent, the tranſient damage of which could not have the leaſt effect on the more permanent and greater points of their political ſyſtem. When our troops were actually landed, and the burning of the ſhips at St. Maloes, could not but be in view; the duke d'Aiguillon wrote to court, that it might be perfectly eaſy on that account, for he would anſwer for it they would ſoon re-imbark again. They did ſo, very happy, not only in the enemy not treading on their heels, but in that the generals, who had not let the troops have above two or three days proviſions with them, had not truſted in vain to the weather, which had it proved too

boiſterous, or contrary for boats to have been ſent aſhore, they muſt have eaten one another, or ſurrendered at diſcretion, rather as the priſoners of famine, than of the ſword. " But what then? muſt not " ſome riſks be run?" ſays one with a fighting face. Even that little place, Cherbourg was afterwards, at firſt, attempted in vain by them. In ſhort, whatever terrors ſome were ſo weak or ſo miſ-informed here, as to attribute to the French, on the occaſion of theſe " formidable" armaments, nothing is more certain, than that they knew the utmoſt they could do, too well not even to take the liberty of laughing at them. And after all what could our forces do, or be expected to do? Every one knew before, that with all the fortifications, along one of the fouleſt coaſts in the world, there are ſtill many ſpots on it, where our troops may eaſily land, if landing was all. But when landed, what then? They may frighten a few peaſants along the ſea-ſide, from their brown bread and onions, or deſtroy their ſallad, and the hopes of their ſoupe-maigre: they may even take ſome ſorry village, or hen-coop-fortification, whoſe name was before ſcarce known, *in depoſite* for half an hour. But when they have

done that, what remains for them, but on the firſt alarm of the national forces coming down, to ſcamper back on board a ſhip again? a circumſtance fitter to teach our ſoldiers the art of running away, than the art of war. As to any harraſſment the alarm of an impending deſcent may cauſe along the coaſt, the French have rather to thank us for it. They are wiſe enough to have a militia on foot, and it is very kind in us, at our own expence to keep the forces of it in breath, to find them them in exerciſe, to inure them in ſome meaſure to fatigue. They will not make the worſe ſoldiers for recruiting their armies. But after all, is not this literally, incurring the ridicule of what M. de Mirabeau, not without reaſon and humor calls "pretending "to frighten mankind by packing up men "in wooden boxes and ſending them to ſpit "upon an enemy's ſhore?"

But if this plan of deſcents is ſo excellent as its admirers are ſo thoroughly welcome to pronounce it, it muſt be owned withal, that the beauty and advantages of them, eſcaped thoſe poltroons, your Edwards and your Henry's. They were afraid to venture Engliſhmen over to France, but

in ſuch a body as might ſtand, not run away, at the approach of the enemy, whoſe ſuperiority of numbers in thoſe rude times, they never ſtood to calculate very nicely. They were not content with having the flower of the nobility give grace and animation to the enterprize, but went over in perſon, and ſhared the danger. In ſhort, their object was an effectual invaſion, not a ſcampering ſcheme of deſcents that could anſwer no one purpoſe of honor or advantage. At leaſt, no Prince was in thoſe times, ſent barely attended and *expoſed*, by way of giving grace to ſuch nothing-meaning adventures. Yet France was then an open country to what it now is. Moſt of their fortified places were rather refuges againſt the oppreſſion of their own kings, than intended to repel a foreign enemy. Conſequently the leſs force might have ſerved to penetrate more ſafely into the interior of the country, or to make a vigorous impreſſion. So much greater men are we than our anceſtors, in ſpite of all that has been ſaid of our degeneracy.

But if France well-conſidered offers, at leaſt, to this nation in its preſent circumſtances, no hold, no promiſing overture of attack, either on her inland frontiers, or on her

her ſea-coaſt; the following queſtion, may poſſibly occur to well-meaning people. "What! would you then have nothing "done againſt France? Would you return "to the former ſcandalous times of ſloth "and inaction, when our navy ſeemed "maintained more for parade than for uſe; "when our land-forces were rather a ridi- "culous burthen to the nation, than of any "ſervice to it, either in point of defence "or offence? When the poſt of a military "officer, was big with no more danger or "fatigue, than that of a prebendary loung- "ing in his ſtall? When the whole nation, "in ſhort, appeared to have loſt that mar- "tial ſpirit for which it once out-vied all Eu- "rope; and when even ſordid intereſt itſelf, "with all its keenneſs, ſeemed to have loſt "ſight of that maxim ſo eſſential to it, "that neither trade nor wealth are valua- "ble, but in proportion to the means and "ſpirit of defending them?"

To thoſe queſtions, the anſwer is however not very difficult, nor can be thought a very irrational one. The objection to improper attacks, does not moſt certainly exclude the recourſe to proper ones. On the contrary, it implies the recommendation of them

them. In ſingle combat no one chooſes to aim at thoſe parts of his enemy's body, that are defended by proof-armour: he rather feels out for the weak or unguarded places, where his ſword may beſt enter and wound to moſt effect. The ſame rule holds exactly between nation and nation, when once they enter the liſts of war. The diſtreſſing of the trade and navigation of France, is a blow that cannot be too cloſely followed. It might of itſelf almoſt ſoon make her ſick of the conteſt. But there are ſo many points beſides, where ſhe lies open to wounds, that it muſt be inexcuſable to conſume that ſtrength which might be ſo effectually employed in inflicting them on her, upon others, not only impoſſible, but ridiculous.

Both Indies, America, and even ſome of her Iſlands in Europe, Minorca yet unretaken, afford ſo large a field for action, that, ſo far from ſloth or indolence, being neceſſarily the alternative, on dropping the wind-mill ſchemes of deſcents, or inland attacks, there remain draughts upon the nation for funds and men, for ſolid and eſſential enterprizes, to the full as great as it can well anſwer. No, not even the millions ſunk

upon

upon foreign connexions would be more than a ſufficient ſupplement to our own exigencies for thoſe purpoſes on which they could hardly be expended to leſs effect, than on the continent, as the actual ſtate of things there ſo clearly atteſts. Our troops would then act with the more ſpirit from their being aſſured of the quarrel being purely that of their own country, and not a mere diverſion, and that diverſion an unavailing one, in favor of another. The ſuperiority of our navy, palpably enables us to tranſport our land-forces to any part of the world, in which the French may be oppoſed to advantage. A competent number of regulars, left at home, when ſeconded as they ſoon might be by an effective, general, and conſtitutional militia may, whilſt the reſt would be uſefully employed abroad, might ſmile defiance at the power of France to hurt us by any invaſion, even ſhould our fleets by ſome of thoſe accidents, againſt which all human providence is ſo defective and unavailing, not be at hand to bar them the way. At leaſt, all that would be neceſſary of our army might well be ſpared on diſtant ſervice. It might then, without a gaſconnade, be ſaid, that the

exiſtence of the French in Canada, muſt take an end as ſoon as it ſhould be vigorouſly undertaken. The cutting off the ſupplies to St. Domingo, to Martinico, and to their other iſlands, from their mother-country, could not but have the effect on them, that a ſtrong ligature has on any member of the body, cauſing it to wither from the intercepted circulation. At leaſt, it would greatly facilitate any attempt of ours upon the moſt convenient of them for us to attempt. Would it not too be a great and ſhameful reproach to the nation, if, from its remiſsneſs, or miſcalculate of time, or of the enemy's force, the French ſhould in the Eaſt-indies have obtained ſuch an actual ſuperiority as muſt infallibly, in that caſe, give a deep, and perhaps incurable wound to the honor of our flag in thoſe parts, as well as to our national intereſts? How can it ſound to Europe and poſterity that in the face of ſo much greater a maritime ſtrenth than theirs, they ſhould unmoleſted, or unoppoſed in time, provide for the tranſportation of their troops by ſea to parts ſo remote; and thus multiply, as it were, their naval forces, by their ſuperor art of employing them? In ſhort, can it be ſaid, with the leaſt ſhadow of

of foundation, that there is not enough for Britain to do, not to be obliged, for want of occupation, to relapſe into that ſtate of ſupineneſs and inactivity which is ſo juſtly exploded, and to which however all the bluſter and parade of an abſurd and inſignificant activity are hardly preferable? What great difference does it make to the intereſt or the honor of the nation, whether the character of the Fribble or the Flaſh predominates in her Councils? The latter is, perhaps, the moſt dangerous and aſſuredly the moſt ridiculous of the two.

Indolence and luxury may for a while, and always dangerouſly, ſoften and enervate thoſe who are plunged in them. The greateſt conquerors, the moſt martial ſpirits, have occaſionally felt their banefull influence and many of them ſeverely ſuffered for it. But there is ſuch a thing as flouncing out of the ſlough; the languor of them is not always proof againſt the calls of duty and the excitements of honor, where there is conſtitutional courage at bottom. Whereas it is the nature of diſappointments from ſilly or inglorious enterprizes to ſtrike a deadly damp to the heart, and to deſtroy in future the neceſſary confidence in the propoſal of thoſe

effectual ones, for which the lives ſo often wretchedly thrown away upon the others, might be ſo much better reſerved. The officers emplyed in them are loſt to the public who takes a prejudice to them, the more difficult to retract, from that retractation imploying the confeſſion of a miſtake: and how few are there capable of that greatneſs, that even heroiſm of the mind, of which there cannot perhaps be a ſtronger proof than ſuch a confeſſion! Thus the ſervice of many a gallant man periſhes to his country without his being the leaſt in fault to it: or at leaſt his reputation is ſunk by having been employed in the execution of meaſures, of which the obvious nature, as well as foreſight of the event, left no room either to arraign fortune, or to excuſe any fondneſs for the commiſſion.

But thus it cannot but be when men of flaſhy parts carry into power the weakneſſes of their perſonal character, with influence enough to make them the national ones: when giddy with thoſe ſucceſſes of their nothingneſs, that only prove the littleneſs of the times, and without the leaſt ſpirit of buſineſs, or but the common knowledge of it, they preſume themſelves equal to the ma-

nagement of every thing; and cannot be long admitted to it, before they furniſh the proof of their being infinitely beneath any confidence placed in them. In the mean time the enemies of a nation, where ſuch men ſhould bear ſway, would have the fineſt opportunity imaginable, for puſhing their projects againſt it, ſure of not being very materially counter-acted, by thoſe their plans and execution, which muſt be rather matter of mirth than of terror to them. What would they have better to wiſh than long life to ſuch perſonages, and their continuance in power to the end of it?

That this however is not the preſent condition of this nation any one may eaſily ſatisfy himſelf from a candid review of the preſent ſmiling, and not in the leaſt hollow aſpect of things. He may, from his own knowledge and obſervation, feel that the great days of Britain are bidding fair to return under the auſpicious influence of the preſent depoſitaries of the power, honor and welfare of the nation. The delightful harmony in the conduct of the ſtate-machine, between characters imagined ſo jarring and ſo oppoſite, reminds one of the poetical golden age when

when the wolf and the lamb drank promiſcuouſly and peaceably together at the ſame clear unpolluted ſtream.

Corruption no longer rears her hated head, but hides it in the lap of Patriot-purity, that ſeeks, by lovingly foſtering and ſuckling her, to change her foul complexion, and aſſimilate it to her own ſo fair one.

No longer are to be ſeen thoſe eye-ſores, the non-expletives of poſts who, if they robbed the nation of no more then the ſervice of abler men in their room, would rob it of a great deal.

Merit, in arts and arms, after ſo long a neglect, begins, under all the encouragement ſo ſenſibly beſtowed on it, and ſo diſcerningly diſtributed, to refloriſh in the land of which it can never but be the ornament and defence,

Our men of power, have, at length, found out that profound ſecret to their predeceſſors, that ideots and triflers could not be the beſt of ſervants to the puplic, nor even to themſelves, though congenially choſen by them for being ſuch. The preſent Great more wiſely, and even in honor to their taſte and diſcernment, call in men of abilities

to

to their aſſiſtence, nay, ſue to them for it, as is their duty and moſt certainly their intereſt.

We have now ſuch able negotiators at all the courts of Europe, as are an ample overmatch to the French ones, and are, literally ſpeaking, the repreſentatives of the miniſtry.

The due, the much wanted care is actually and evidently taken, to form great men for the ſervice of the nation, before the immediate need of them ſhall make it too late to think of forming them; and to remove that wretched excuſe for not employing proper ſubjects, there being no better to employ; to take away from our enemies, in ſhort, the encouragement they might have, from ſeeing councils without ſtateſmen, and armies without generals.

The ſtale over-acted farce of reſignations ſeems ſuſpended, and will, it is to be hoped, never again come into play, in the ſhape of a recoil, only to come on the ſurer; or to give the public no other ſatisfaction than the ſilly one of ſeeing rather other men than other meaſures take place; or what is ſillier yet, the ſame men, with the ſame meaſures, dancing the political hays; ſometimes eclipſing, ſometimes eclipſed by one another.

The ſenſe of the enlightened and impartial multitude begins to look with an equal eye on the veterans of corruption, and the pretenders to patriotiſm, on the worn out tool of a court, and the muſhroom of a much abuſed popularity, ridiculouſly ſhot up to a cedar-height. It now judges of both, by the tenor and tendency of their conduct; and does not paſs its opinion on them without firſt aſking itſelf that moſt eſſential queſtion, "*What have they actually done,* "*or what are they capable of doing?*" To which the fair obvious anſwer would ſo often be "*Nothing*, or *worſe than no-*"*thing.*"

In ſhort, if this is not the true repreſentation of our preſent condition or of *Things as they are*, it may, at leaſt, be hoped that to no Briton will it be imputed as a very high crime or miſdemeanour, that he ſhould devoutly wiſh that *they were ſo.*

POST-

POSTCRIPT.

THE reader will be pleaſed to obſerve that the ſheets relative to the K— of P——, were printed long before the news arrived of the check his arms are ſaid to have received. Nothing could indeed be more mean, more unmanly than any reaſoning againſt his conduct or our union with him, from that event. But ſurely thoſe who were never dazzled with his ſucceſſes at their height, and even argued on a preſumption of his continuing to puſh his victories beyond the walls of Vienna, can little be ſuppoſed capable of that wretched vulgariſm of judging him by his fortune and not by the nature and truth of things. So far too from their exulting in any calamities that may befall him, none would perhaps be more ſincerely afflicted for them than they would be, and that on the very Britiſh principle for which they differed ſo widely from the popular opinion for connecting the cauſe of Britain with his. To fear a bad ſucceſs and to wiſh it are certainly ſentiments that far from imply one another.

FINIS.

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THINGS

SET IN A

PROPER LIGHT, &c.

NOTHING but a love of truth on one hand, and an entire conviction on the other, that ſhe muſt triumph in the end (over all the combined efforts of genius, eloquence, and art) could have induced us, thoroughly ſenſible of our own weakneſs, to enter the liſts with ſo formidable an antagoniſt as the author of the late political pamphlet called *Things as they are*.

The dangerous doctrine therein concealed under a ſeducive maſk of the moſt genuine patriotiſm, is ſo implicitly received, as to call aloud for an anſwer, by which *Things ſet in a proper Light* may put a ſtop to the ſpreading contagion, whoſe fatal

tendency may, perhaps, be, thro' a very artful and ſtrained exaggeration of inconveniencies, real or imaginary, to which Hanover ſubjects us, to alienate the minds of the people from their allegiance to his moſt gracious majeſty, and their well-founded eſteem for the preſent truly Britiſh adminiſtration; which heaven and the guardian angels of liberty avert.

While we admire the abilities of the writer, our conſtitutional principles, and zeal for the happy eſtabliſhment we live under, incite us to expoſe his ſophiſtic inſinuations, and the fallacy of his doctrine in general.

We therefore ſhall begin with his article of aſſumed modeſty, in order to win his readers over to him, tho' the tenor of his conduct throughout the pamphlet be quite contrary to ſo very plauſible a declaration.

" The following ſheets then are not " impudently meant to ſet up a private " opinion, in oppoſition to the public au- " thority of thoſe great and wiſe ſtateſ- " men, at preſent ſo happily and ſo glo-

" riouſly in charge with the conduct of " the Britiſh *ſyſtem*, if any *ſuch* ſyſtem " there exiſts; but purely to ſtate mat- " ters of fact, ſo as to put every one " into a way of exerciſing his own judg- " ment upon them, with a requeſt to every " reader, which ſurely will not appear a " very *immodeſt* one, of his not preferring " any man's reaſon to his own, nor any " prejudices he may have imbibed, to his " own conviction of truth."

You will notwithſtanding, courteous reader, be ſoon convinced, that the chief purport of this *modeſt* requeſter, *is to ſet up his private opinion in oppoſition to the public authority of thoſe*, &c. Nay, here the impatience of his party-principles draws aſide the maſk too ſoon, by invidiouſly inſinuating, that even now we have no political ſyſtem; which is a tenet in direct contrariety to the general opinion, that is as ſatisfied of our having one, ſince diſintereſted *Palinurus* took upon him the ſteering of our ſtate-helm, as it had been the univerſal outcry heretofore; and is now the

people's confirmed ſenſe, that there was none before his condeſcending in pity to his country to be a miniſter.

To render Hanover contemptible, and to wean our affections from eſpouſing the Pruſſian hero's cauſe, ſeem to be the main drift of this elaborate piece; as for inſtance:

"France, whom he had twice left in "the lurch, could have no great confidence "in him, and imagined ſhe ſhould make "her market better with Auſtria; now "not only thoroughly indiſpoſed towards "this nation, but frightened at once at our "deſertion, and at the deſigns of Pruſſia "againſt her."

Inſtead of the partial charge of France being twice left in the lurch by his Pruſſian majeſty, without ſpecifying the reaſons and provocation why; it would have been much fairer to have recounted the mighty obligations the French king and kingdom were under to him, and which it will never be in their power to repay. He reſcued France from ruin, and perhaps

Lewis

Lewis the Fifteenth from falling into the hands of his enemies (but now unnaturally allied friends) the Auſtrians.

The time we ſpeak of was, when the preſent French king lay dangerouſly ill at Metz; when Prince Charles of Lorrain had croſſed the Rhine; when in the pockets of ſlain Mentzel, the famous partiſan, a plan was found, and a very practicable one, of levying contributions even to the gates of Paris with the Auſtrian irregulars.

There being no certain commander during the grand monarque's malady, the confuſion and conſternation of the army he had with him would ſoon have rendered it an eaſy conqueſt to the enemy. The provinces between Lorrain and Paris apprehended immediate devaſtation, and an univerſal diſmay reigned in Paris, ſeeing no hope of relief by any exertion their nation's ſtrength could then afford them; for Count Saxe at that time covered French Flanders, by marching and counter-marching, in order to keep in play the allied army of Dutch, Engliſh, and Hanoverians.

In

In this deplorable ſituation of the affairs of France, the King of Pruſſia marched forth their deliverer at the head of his army. His rapid progreſs to Prague obliged Prince Charles to repaſs the Rhine, and hurry back as faſt as he could to protect Bohemia, and renounce the flattering opportunity of invading France.

That kingdom's ingratitude ſince to their then ſaviour, illuſtrious Frederic, furniſhed him ſufficient cauſe to give them reaſon to repent of their inſincere dealing: nay, when thought proper at laſt for France's intereſt, that the two monarchs ſhould come to a thorough explanation, it was diſcovered, that the ill treatment given the King of Pruſſia did not proceed from the French monarch, but from a treachery in his miniſters, who had been tampered with by the court of Vienna.

The then cardinal, that old ſcarlet-robed prieſt Fleuri, fitter to be a ſuperior over a ſeminary of young eccleſiaſtics, than to execute the weighty charge of ruling a kingdom, was won upon by petitionary

letters

letters to him from the Queen of Hungary, written in her own hand; wherein ſhe threw herſelf under his protection, ſtyling him on all occaſions *Mon cher Papa*, ſtrenuouſly entreating, "that for the honour "of God and their holy religion, he would "not permit her, a Roman Catholic ſove-"reign, to be ruined by a heretic; and that "he ſhould conſider what he muſt have "to anſwer for before the tribunal of the "Moſt High, before whom all ſtate-jug-"gling and political equivocation are of "no avail." But above all ſhe bid him to reflect, what a ſcandal it muſt give to all true believers, that he ſhould have concurred in ruining the antient houſe of Auſtria, and expoſed its ſubjects (when under a Proteſtant prince) to the neceſſity of becoming heretics.

Old Mother Fleuri blubbered at the part where the Queen of Hungary, in the ſtyle of a daughter, painted her diſtreſs; and afterwards looked aghaſt, as if beſieged by a legion of demons, on reading the ſeveral *anathemas* ſhe denounced againſt him,

if

if he ſhould abet any longer thoſe out of the pale of the church.

In fine, the Hungarian queen's cunning had ſo great an effect upon the French ruling cardinal, that he counteracted the real deſigns of his royal maſter, and ſo far ſlackened the military operations againſt the Auſtrian intereſt, that France loſt conſiderably in conſequence.

When an *eclairciſſement* of the tranſactions of thoſe times was made, in compliment to the Pruſſian monarch's reſentment; matters were ſo bolſtered up, that Monſ. Amelot, a creature of Fleuri's, was to ſtand in the gap to ſave his patron. Amelot accordingly was diſmiſſed from his miniſterial function with a penſion; and from that period the cardinal dwindled in the eſteem of his maſter, and formerly royal pupil; who, till that breach of confidence, by intercepting the King of Pruſſia's letters, had a kind of veneration for, which prevented his immediately diſcarding him with infamy.

There

There are ſeveral private anecdotes of thoſe times, which remain as yet ſecrets in the cabinets of both courts, and may hereafter appear in future hiſtories. Pruſſia's early diffidence of France has lately had freſh cauſe of confirming its firſt ſuſpicion, in diſcovering that France had entered into a private treaty with Auſtria, Saxony, and Ruſſia, againſt him.

This treaty alſo alarmed our ſovereign in his double quality, as Elector of Hanover, and as King of England. As Elector of Hanover, his territories he ſaw would be liable to the incurſions of the French; who, from our inſular ſituation, could make no inroad upon England. His buſineſs was then to enter into an alliance with the only power that could be of any aſſiſtance to him, and defeat all ſchemes againſt the electorate, either from France or Auſtria; and that power which ſound policy, as well as natural affection, pointed out to him was Pruſſia.

As King of England, his jealous fears againſt the encroaching power of France

were more alarmed than ever, becauſe of its formidable alliance with the houſe of Auſtria; the only in Europe that for a ſeries of years had been able to oppoſe and occupy it on the continent; that it ſhould never at any one time think of bending its whole force againſt the Britiſh dominions: which (let us talk as big as we pleaſe occaſionally) we ſhould find a very difficult matter to reſiſt for any length of time.

Deſerted by Auſtria, forgetful of all her obligations to England, moſt of whoſe national debt has been contracted upon her account, his majeſty's great prudence; without loſs of time, entered into an alliance with Pruſſia, the ſweet effects of which we all enjoy: becauſe ſince that æra, ſo glorious for the proteſtant religion, the vapouring French have ceaſed to threaten us with invaſions in flat-bottomed boats. Nay, ſuch a ſpirit of wiſdom has guided our councils ſince, that we have turned the tables upon them.

What

What an indecent butcherly image is this of the immortal Frederic, in regard to her Hungarian majeſty? "The ſword "of Pruſſia evidently whetted againſt her "throat." It is to be preſumed, from the elegant turn of that monarch's mind, if within reach of any lady, much more a queen, he would think of ſome more delicate operation than whetting a ſword at her throat.

Thus far relates to the miſrepreſentation of our ſalutary alliance with Pruſſia. Let us now proceed to other matters, in which we ſhall find to the full as much candour.

"In September of that year his Pruſſian "majeſty made his irruption into the pro- "teſtant electorate of Saxony, of which, "by a new, and till then, unheard of diſ- "tinction, he took poſſeſſion in the form "of a depoſite.

"There is no need of characteriſing "this ſtep here." What our author means by his cautious circumſpection we know not; for all the characteriſing that can be

given to this ſtep is very obvious, to wit, that it was a prudent one.

If in private life A receives information that B, C, D, E, have entered into a private conſpiracy to rob him of his property, and only wait for a fair opportunity to put their wicked plot in execution; will it not, according to all laws human and divine, be pardonable in A to be beforehand with them, in order to defeat the completion of their wicked ſcheme?

What more has the King of Pruſſia done than diſabled B, his next neighbour, from doing him any harm? The temporary ſeizure of his electorate, &c. is to be looked upon as nothing more than the wreſting a ſword out of a man's hand intent upon miſchievous deeds; which is to be returned to him when all dangers ſhall be over, and he reaſon'd out of his bad connections, and diſſuaded from purſuing a wicked plan.

The King of Pruſſia never meant to keep poſſeſſion of Saxony longer, than till

the preſent diſagreeable diſputes ſhould be blown over; and the dove returning with her olive branch reſtore peace, happineſs, and univerſal harmony among the principal members of the Germanic body.

Our paradoxical author ſays, "The war "was hotly carried on in Germany; a war "that ſeems to have been a conteſt for "which ſide ſhould commit the greateſt "blunders; thoſe of Pruſſia were, un-"happily for him, the feweſt."

This word *unhappily* is truly marvellous by the place it occupies, and the ſenſe it conveys; or is it not rather a-kin to a blunder? There is a novelty in advancing, that the happier of two contending parties is that which commits the greater number of blunders.

Nor is there leſs novelty in what our ſagacious author aſſerts a little after, in regard to the ſucceſs of the Pruſſian monarch: "Two ſuch victories as would, in "former times have probably transferred "the whole Roman empire to the gainer "of them, have not as yet produced to him

" him the recovery of a part even of his " own dominions, which is to this inſtant " in the hands of his enemies."

By this part of his dominions, Weſel we ſuppoſe is meant; grant it. But in virtue of thoſe victories, the electorate of Saxony (an infinitely more than equivalent) remains in his hands. With what propriety the transferring of the Roman empire, in conſequence of two ſuch victories, is alluded to here, does not immediately appear. If by it ſhould be meant the number of the ſlain on the field of action, nothing is leſs true; becauſe it is well known, even to the leaſt converſant in hiſtory, that far greater numbers fell in battle (ſuppoſing equal forces) before, than ſince the invention of gunpowder.

The ſecond character principally ſtruck at after heroic Frederic's, is that of our noble *patriot*. There is a daringneſs of ſpirit to attack only the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages, in order to dethrone them from the hearts of a zealous and admiring people.

The

The commoneſt Engliſh reader may gueſs who is glanced at in the following lines:

" The nation in its hurry for a choice " of new protectors, was contented to take " the readieſt and the firſt that preſented " themſelves. Theſe were thoſe who had " once before riſen by the *ſpeech trade*, in " this ſpeech-making age, and who had " the moſt recently galled and fatigued, " by popular harangues, eſpecially againſt " continental connections, thoſe very mi- " niſters, with whom they had for years " continued very quietly, and tamely " co-operating, in conſequence of that " wretched bargain they had once before " made of the popularity they had ob- " tained by abuſing them."

The latter part of this aſſertion is entirely falſe, if levelled at Mr. P—, becauſe he never continued for a number of years quietly and tamely co-operating with the advocate for continental connections. As to the ſneering expreſſion " ſpeech-trade," all we ſhall reply (pitying the author's prejudice or envy at the ſame time) is, that

that the greateſt talents human nature is capable of, may be ſpoke gibingly of; nay, the cotemporaries of Demoſthenes might have twitted him on account of his commanding eloquence, with the opprobrious term of "*ſpeech-trade.*"

"The dull nauſeating farce of con-
"certed, temporiſing, inſignificant reſig-
"nations was now played, and by amu-
"ſing, ſatisfied the bulk of the people."

We appeal to the candour of the public, if this be not a very bare-faced miſrepreſentation of our diſintereſted patriot's retiring from a high ſtation, rather than be participant of meaſures he looked upon as quite unconſtitutional. It would have been but fair in our author, to have pointed out, and ſpecified, wherein Mr. P—— has deviated from the principles he at firſt ſet out upon, and has always profeſſed. Neither dogmatic aſſertions, nor ſtriking periods, are proofs; they indeed may ſtun and dazzle weak intellects.

It appears to us from what has preceded, as well as from what follows, that our author

thor has had only a loop-hole view, and not a full or comprehenſive one of the preſent adminiſtration of foreign as well as of domeſtic affairs; and therefore reaſons upon *Things as they are* in his own warped imagination, but not as they exiſt in reality: of which there are proofs in almoſt every page. But to avoid quoting the whole pamphlet, we have determined to confine ourſelves to a few of the moſt glaring inſtances.

" The period was come in which theſe " orators, who had in a great meaſure " gained their popularity, by fulminating " againſt all continental connections, were " whiffled round into advocates for per- " haps the moſt dangerous one of all."

Here again our author ſhould have particularized who thoſe orators are; for we have the pleaſure to aſſure the public, that their darling miniſter is not one of the number, and that he perſiſts as firm as ever againſt purſuing any ſuch continental meaſures, as may be detrimental to England's intereſt; then how can all this invective affect him? This writer's endeavours to ſtrain every thing to a perverſe ſenſe, are manifeſt on all occaſions.

" Of all the injuries however done to that " illuſtrious prince (the King of Pruſſia) not " one can be a greater, from the ridicule of " it, than the ranking amongſt his motives " the protection of the proteſtant religion."

There are few beſides this gentleman who will think it an injury done to the King of Pruſſia to ſay that one of his motives to undertake the preſent war, was the protection of the proteſtant religion. The reaſons to judge ſo, are ſtronger than thoſe againſt it, can be. Was it not alarming, not only to a proteſtant prince, but even to every private member of the proteſtant religion, to ſee ſuch a formidable alliance as the houſes of Bourbon, Auſtria, Saxony, &c. confederated?

The long hereditary animoſity between the two great Roman Catholic powers of Vienna and Verſailles, hath perhaps prevented the proteſtant nations of Europe being hitherto obliged to embrace the Romiſh religion. And ſo ſenſible have the *jeſuits* been of this truth, that in order to execute their coercive views upon the conſciences of men, they have long laboured, and at laſt ſucceeded in bringing about a reconciliation between thoſe mighty powers.

What a dreadful proſpect is this alliance for proteſtantiſm? Nay, to what a low ebb would the proteſtant intereſt of Europe have been by this time reduced, were it not for the unexampled heroiſm of the Pruſſian monarch, and the victories which he has obtained contrary to all expectation. This unequalled hero is in our degenerate days, what the great Guſtavus had been heretofore, the

rock

rock upon which all popiſh combinations have ſplit, and been ſhipwrecked.

" Yet ignorance, always credulous, and " always furious to maintain the abſur- " dities it has once ſwallowed, has found " him amongſt enthuſiaſts and methodiſts " here, panegyriſts of a principle that on this " occaſion never once entered his thoughts."

To aſſert, that the defence of the proteſtant intereſt in Germany, never once entered into the Pruſſian king's thoughts, is very cavalier, when we reflect that this important object (perhaps dearer to him than any new acquiſition of dominion) was propagated by his direction through all the proteſtant ſtates of Germany.

Moreover, the reflection thrown out againſt the ſaid monarch's admirers, here in England, is not only unpolite, but far from the chapter of fair play. Becauſe it would maliciouſly infinuate his having none but among methodiſts and enthuſiaſts. Whereas it may, in contradiction, be aſſerted, and with the firmeſt confidence, that there is ſcarce a member of the eſtabliſhed church in England, who is not a ſtrenuous panegyriſt of Frederic's wonderful exploits. Therefore we need not dwell any longer on the refutation of ſaid falſehood.

" His cruſhing a co-eſtate, which the firſt " in Europe received the light of Proteſtan- " tiſm from Luther, its firſt miſſionary, and

" had moreover the double merit of re-
" maining firmly attached to that religion,
" under a Roman Catholic ſovereign, and
" of its retaining its allegiance, though of
" that faith, can be no proof of his over-
" tenderneſs for any Proteſtants that ſhould
" ſtand in the light of his political views."

What a ſtrange confuſion of things is here? The King of Pruſſia's original intent was not to cruſh a co-eſtate. All that he meant was, to oblige the Elector of Saxony to recede from that pernicious alliance he had entered into againſt him; and, in conſequence, to prevent the ſaid elector's proteſtant ſubjects being employed againſt him, and through him againſt their own religion. That thereby he and his troops ſhould avoid the neceſſity of ſhedding the proteſtant blood of the Saxon troops, through their faithful allegiance, when miſled by their popiſh ſovereign.

Anſwer us now, over-weening eſſayiſt, was not this a ſignal proof of his tenderneſs for Proteſtants? Beſides, was it not to be feared, that if the ſcheme of the grand alliance to cruſh Pruſſia ſhould ſucceed, the Elector of Saxony, in complaiſance to his powerful Romiſh allies, would take meaſures for forcing his ſubjects to become of his and their religion, as James the Second had vainly attempted the like in England, by the inſtigation of France; of which kingdom the

the Elector of Saxony's daughter is now married to the preſumptive heir. Had the author in queſtion reflected on theſe accumulated circumſtances, he could not have thus harſhly pronounced.

" But as to his Pruſſian majeſty eſpecially, " no man in his ſenſes will ſuſpect him of " ſo falſe a zeal, as that of kindling a war " in favour of the proteſtant religion, when " there was not the ſhadow of a proof, ei- " ther of its being attacked by any Romiſh " power, or of any intention of its being " attacked."

All this is *gratis dictum*, as we have already ſhewn. This Protean pamphleteer, not ſatisfied to diveſt the Pruſſian monarch of all affection, or concern for the proteſtant religion, would fain, in a very artful manner, inſinuate his being an abetter of Popery: for thus he continues immediately after our laſt quotation from him:

" No; he (the Pruſſian monarch) took a " much better and more effectual way of " ſerving it, (the proteſtant cauſe) and of " ſhewing his ſenſe of the weakneſs of the " Roman Catholic religion, in the permiſ- " ſion he gave to the famous Mecenati, " ſaid to be the ſame man who ſome years " ago appeared in England, under the aſ- " ſumed title of Count Ughi, to build a " magnificent Romiſh church in the heart " of

" of his dominions, in his capital, in Ber-
" lin itſelf."

What can be deduced from this fact, either in behalf of the Proteſtant, or of the Romiſh religion? Nothing. It is indeed a great proof of the ſuperiority of the Pruſſian monarch's way of thinking, above that of all thoſe enſlaved by the prejudices of the countries they rule over.

" In that conceſſion too a begging brief
" for contributions to it, was included and
" authoriſed under the ſeal of his own chan-
" cery." Well, Sir, this proceeding was very neceſſary, becauſe without it none would have contributed to the building of ſaid church.

" The firſt ſtone of it was laid in his (the
" king's) name by the Count de Haake, the
" thirteenth day of July 1746. A medal
" was ſtruck on this occaſion, with the fol-
" lowing inſcription: *Fautori* ſuo religio ro-
" mana catholica."

The hiſtory of the building of the great church of Peking, relates as much to the preſent war of Europe, as this of the Romiſh church in Berlin; and nothing can be more vague or idle than the concluſion drawn from it, as here follows.

" Superſtition is always blind, and did not
" ſee in this indulgence that profound con-
" tempt of it, which is ſo evidently implied."

With

With our very ſagacious eſſayiſt's leave, it was not from a motive of contempt but from one of the ſoundeſt policy, that the king of Pruſſia gave permiſſion to build a Romiſh church in his capital.

Becauſe from obſervation and reading he was ſenſible how much ſeveral nations ſuffer by depriving themſelves of the ſervice of great men, when of a different from the prevailing religion. He therefore, towering above all prejudic, reſolved ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne of Pruſſia, that ſaid kingdom ſhould be the aſylum of all great men, whoſe abilities ſhould be debarred exertion in their native country, on the ſhameful account of their religion. Therefore, while Frederick adheres inviolably to the Proteſtant faith, he ſtretches out an inviting hand to the perſecuted worthies of all other nations; whom, if he cannot gain over to his way of thinking by mildneſs and example, he ſcorns to employ force, and leaves every man to enjoy his own religion in Berlin.

If the preſent monarch of France, being of an equally generous way of thinking with the Pruſſian, ſhould allow a Proteſtant church for the free exerciſe of ſaid religion in Paris, it would be a very ſtrange way of reaſoning to conclude, that ſuch a permiſſion proceeded from a profound contempt; nay, to the full as abſurd as if any one ſhould ſay, that it was from a motive of profound contempt

tempt of Luther's religion, that Lewis the fifteenth made the late Marſhal Saxe, a Proteſtant, captain-general of all his forces.---- This author's uncommon penetration finds cunning views, where none were certainly meant; to wit:

" Even the court of Rome, that has made " ſo many bubbles, was on this occaſion the " bubble of that prince. The Pope expreſſed " his grateful ſenſe of that grant."

It would be, in our opinion, not an eaſy matter to make it out, that the bubble-making court of Rome was become the king of Pruſſia's bubble, thro' the pope's expreſſing his grateful ſenſe of that grant. The pope would have been greatly wanting to himſelf and that church, over which he preſided, had he not done ſo. Moreover, the papal *thankſgiver* was the late Lambertini, ſo univerſally eſteemed throughout Europe by all ſects; and who to his honour was called the *proteſtant pope*, by the ignorant part of his clergy, for having aboliſhed ſeveral idle holidays, and ſuperſtitious practices.

Nay, we might aſſert (if we were perſuaded the aſſertion would not have the ſame effect upon the pamphleteer under our obſervation, it had upon a proteſtant *hot-head*, in one of our coffee-houſes) that on the occaſion of the Romiſh church built in Berlin ſeveral letters paſſed between the late pope and his Pruſſian majeſty---" How, quoth " our

our zealot, " *Frederick the Great* write to the " pope; if true, he ſhall be no longer my " hero, for whoever correſponds with the " pope of Rome, cannot be a good Proteſtant, " that is certain."

This reaſoning is not very diſſimilar to that in *Things as they are*. The court of Rome thinks it a high acquiſition, ſo far from being bubbled, whenever ſhe can obtain permiſſion to erect a *church* according to her rites, in kingdoms whoſe powers are of another perſuaſion. She hath appropriated funds and reſources for all expences relative to the propagation of her doctrine, and to which there are ſome reaſons to think that our ſhrewd remarker is not an implacable enemy, but rather a diſguiſed, perhaps a jeſuitical friend, and for theſe reaſons,

1°. By his endeavouring to excite jealouſy in the proteſtant boſoms of this kingdom, againſt his Pruſſian majeſty, as not being a violent aſſertor of the reformed religion, and his ſeeming to incline to popery, by his ſuffering a church of that perſuaſion to be built under his eye, in the very capital of his kingdom.

2°. By running out into violent and unneceſſary rants againſt the court of Rome, in the angry ſtrain of a new convert from popery: a trite artifice of papiſts. For he thus expreſſes himſelf, with not altogether that chriſtian meekneſs and charity recommended in the

goſpel, and which thoſe of the proteſtant religion are in general remarkable for.

" Rome is a court of conſervancy of ſome " of the moſt blaſphemous and abſurd fic- " tions that ever diſhonoured the human " underſtanding for ſwallowing them; a " court that has put the ſacred truths of the " goſpel to a not leſs vile uſe than that of " making, under favour of them, its ſpurious " ingraftment of thoſe impoſtures go down, " on which it has erected its whole ſyſtem of " lucre and tyranny."

This impetuous volly of abuſe, altho' directly levelled at the court of Rome, was intended to glance on the king of Pruſſia, for being a foſterer of her doctrine in his dominion, which the Author ſays is, *a ſyſtem of lucre* and *tyranny*; that is the ſting of his invective, which he would have applied to Frederick the great. He ſtill continues to bewilder himſelf.

" Whilſt what it has the ſupreme impu- " dence to call the *only* church, in which " the ſalvation of mankind can be obtained, " is palpably nothing but a ſtrong hold of " pillage and oppreſſion, manned by knaves, " and maintained at the expence of preju- " dice-ridden fools."

How can unfortified Rome be called a ſtrong hold of pillage? and as to this ſtrong hold being manned by knaves, nothing is more falſe, for his holineſs's troops are ſtigmatized

matized throughout Italy, for ninnyiſm and cowardice. How then can they be the active conſtituents of a ſtrong hold?

This artful writer ſtill harps on the King of Pruſſia's not acting in this war from any motive of *Proteſtantiſm*, in order to throw a damp upon our zeal in his behalf; and groſly abuſes all thoſe ſincere and honeſt people of England, who think their juſtly admired Frederic, acts if not ſolely, at leaſt partly, from proteſtant views.

" To thoſe then, who are not groveling " in the dirt of ignorance or of low pre- " judice, beneath the reach of the influence " of truth, nothing can be more clear than " that lugging into the quarrel the Pro- " teſtant religion, is in fact the greateſt in- " jury that can be done to it, or to that great " prince, in whoſe favour they imagine ſo " falſe and exploded a pretence, is of a na- " ture to paſs for a reaſon of our union with " him, however emphatically it has been " ſounded as ſuch."

It is amazing, how often this nice and caſuiſtic gentleman returns to the charge; as alſo, with what warmth he labours to unproteſtant the King of Pruſſia's views in the preſent war. Why ſo much pains to invalidate that report, if ſome people, whether of St. Omer's or any other place, have not reaſon to apprehend the truth thereof, and therefore ſtrenuouſly employ themſelves to defeat

the to them dreadful conſequences, which are as devoutly to be wiſhed by all true conſtitutioniſts, unadulterated friends to our preſent eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate.

The author of this inſidious and danger-hatching pamphlet, not ſatisfied with having taken very indecent liberties with the King of Pruſſia's religious views, has the farther effrontery to traveſty his military exploits; and ſneer at the progreſs of his arms.

" His great exploits in Saxony met with " quite another interpretation than he had " given it in his *voluminous* manifeſto. No " lawrels could cover the baldneſs of his " apology."

The former phraſe would inſinuate the badneſs of his Pruſſian majeſty's plea, becauſe, according to an old vulgar notion, a good cauſe needs but a ſhort defence; but the King of Pruſſia, having publiſhed a voluminous one; *ergo* his cauſe is bad: a pretty way of reaſoning truly! It was his delicacy of honour to be voluminous on this occaſion, by nicely detailing every minute circumſtance that gave occaſion to his commencing the preſent war.

Knowing full well, in his great wiſdom, how buſy and active the enemies of his houſe, with their emiſſary legions, would be to blacken his cauſe, and miſrepreſent *Things as they are*; he, in his ample and ſatisfactory manifeſto, has ſupplied all friends, and the

well-wiſhers to his Arms, with ſufficient arguments, all ſtamped with the ſeal of truth, to defeat hi scombined enemies, whoſe number is almoſt infinite, But his pious and heroic maxim is,

Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?

If God be for, no matter what numbers arm againſt us!

The puerile figure of, "No laurels could "cover the baldneſs of his apology," is the aukward winding up of a falſe evidence. But, in order to reduce theſe tropps to a little common ſenſe; pray, why may not laurels, if ſufficiently ſtrewed, cover a baldneſs? and what monarch has ever gathered them faſter than Pruſſia's Frederic? Either in the arts of peace or war, has he not been equally crowned by the two *Minervas?*

The original paſſage, perhaps, from which this figure is lamely hauled in here, was written by doctor Garth; who if we remember right, expreſſes himſelf ſomewhere to this purpoſe, in regard to Dryden, for whom he had the greateſt veneration, "The "falling off of his grey locks, and baldneſs "of his head, ſerved but to render his laurels "the more conſpicuous."--But, it is the well known fineſſe of authors, when they find themſelves weak in argument, to have recourſe to figurative expreſſion.

What

What immediately follows, indeed, is not figurative, but ſheer abuſe. " The princes " of Germany, imagined they had reaſon, in " the fate of that electorate, to dread their " own, whenever they ſhould unhappily be- " come obnoxious to the diſpleaſure of his " Pruſſian majeſty."

This is miſrepreſenting the ſage monarch of Pruſſia, as a deſpotic monſter who gives no other reaſon for his actions than his will; *Sic volo, ſic jubeo, ſtat pro ratione voluntas.*

In the name of fair reaſoning, what had any of the princes of Germany to fear for themſelves from Frederic, in conſequence of the fate of the electorate of Saxony, unleſs like its ſovereign they ſhould enter into combinations againſt him? Therefore groundleſs is what follows:

" They had ſeen him proceed, without " other form of trial than that of a mili- " tary execution, to drive an aged king out " of his hereditary dominions."

It was left to the option of that not aged king, to remain in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of his dominions, if he would renounce the alliance he had entered into, and ſign a neutrality; which the more obſtinately he refuſed, the more juſtly it alarmed the King of Pruſſia; no part of whoſe conduct could have given any grounds to the following accuſation, in regard to the powers of the empire:

" They

" They had ſeen others of the princes of " Germany over-awed with threats of the " ſame uſage, ſome of which were actually " executed. They had ſeen him, in ſhort, " with all the brow of deſpotiſm, give his " fellow-ſubjects of the empire his will and " pleaſure for a law, his ſuſpicions for proofs, " his armies for pleaders, and his power for " a reaſon."

All this is without doubt ſpiritedly and cleverly ſaid; and if true, the Pruſſian monarch ought to be looked upon as a monſter. But as mere aſſertion, however energically expreſſed, is no proof, ſure the ingenious but partial writer ought to have produced a few corroborating facts, before he could expect our concurrence to the condemnation of ſo great a king.

Yet in another part of this pamphlet truth eſcapes from this author in regard to the King of Pruſſia, where, in contradiction to what is here advanced, he ſays of him, " He has given undoubted proofs of his " not being animated by the ſpirit of con- " queſt, or oppreſſion, ſince even after his " victories he has, of himſelf, offered terms " of peace."

This fact is undeniable; for he has hitherto marched with the olive-branch in one hand, and the ſword in the other, ready to lay down the latter and preſent the former, when thoſe powers, of whom he has juſtly ground-

ed

ed jealouſies, ſhall think proper to make him eaſy on that head.

But from this eſcape of truth, the ſaid author relapſes into ſtrange vagaries about the poſſible contingencies from the preſent war. "He (the King of Pruſſia) cannot "now but ſee, that the levelling the houſe "of Auſtria to the duſt, is a taſk more dan-"gerous than he might at firſt apprehend."

In the firſt place it is very much to be doubted, that he has ever had it in his views to level the houſe of Auſtria to the duſt; and in the ſecond place, if he had, he has too great a knowledge of the ſtate of Europe, his own ſtrength, and the military art, not to competently know how far dangerous ſuch an undertaking muſt prove, notwithſtanding that the Auſtrian power is here ſo greatly magnified.

"It is a coloſſus that, ſhould it even fall "by his efforts, muſt fall upon himſelf, "and cruſh him with its weight." Why ſo, pray? It is not long ſince we have ſeen the Imperial diadem wreſted from the houſe of Auſtria, and transferred to that of Bavaria; where it muſt have continued to this day, but for reaſons too tedious to enter on here, and which cannot at all make for our author, who inconſequently ſays,

"All Europe ſhaken to its foundations, "and Germany eſpecially enraged to ſee its

"ſyſtem

" ſyſtem overturned, its laws trampled upon,
" or derided, could not but unite for re-
" venge on the author of all this ruin, and
" eſpecially to obſtruct the advantage he
" ſhould reap from it."

Why all Europe ſhould be ſhaken to its foundations, we cannot ſee, no more than any cauſe for Germany's being enraged, ſince we ſee no power bent to overturn her ſyſtem, trample upon, or deride her laws. If, however, there can be any ſuch, according even to this party-pamphlet, it cannot be the king whom it declares to have already made offers of peace: yet our prevaricating author ſays elegantly, but not truly, " Peace is a
" horizon that flies before him." On the contrary, ſhe attends him ready to put an end to the horrors of war, when his combined enemies ſhall renounce their confederacy againſt him.

The covered wickedneſs of this pamphlet at length glaringly breaks out; for, having thus far endeavoured to ſink the Pruſſian monarch in the eſteem of his zealous friends, the people of England, now to do it more effectually, a diſadvantageous picture of him in regard to the ſaid people is exhibited.

" In the mean time, few who do juſtice
" to the depth of penetration, and to the
" ſolid way of thinking of his Pruſſian ma-
" jeſty, can ſuppoſe him to be the bubble
" of all the popular acclamations, and en-

' thuſiaſm of admiration for him here." In the name of common ſenſe, what room is there to ſuppoſe him a bubble, and of what ?

" He has reaſon indeed to imagine they " ſerve his own preſent point with us ; but " beyond that, he knows how to value them " at no more than they are worth." To deſpiſe them then is to be ſuppoſed, a pretty gentle hint of his royal ingratitude for our national and religious zeal in his behalf. Sly emiſſary of France and Rome, now the cloven foot appears. This artifice to cauſe diſſention among us, and according to the old maxim, divide and govern, will not do ; tho' indeed it muſt be owned that you have laboured the point, in a very maſterly manner. What follows is not a whit leſs artful than what has preceded.

" He cannot but ſee with contempt Eng- " liſhmen pluming themſelves upon victories " not won by Engliſhmen, and the public " attention lacqueying all his motions, as if " the fate of Britain was to turn upon " them."

And perhaps without ſtraining points it in ſome meaſure does; for ſuppoſe (which thank heaven, and his ſuperior abilities, there is not the leaſt danger of) his Pruſſian majeſty were to be cruſhed by the combined efforts of France, Auſtria, and their tools, might they not then turn againſt us? — a word

word to the wiſe is ſufficient: We know what card might be played; and we alſo know in the preſent very critical juncture of affairs, how ready the ungrateful Dutch would be to co-operate in any ſcheme, either with their troops or ſhips to annoy, and throw us into confuſion.

Now let us take a view of what this declaimer ſays of the French affairs. "D'Etrees, " the French general, having been ſacrificed " to a court-cabal, had quitted his com- " mand, and delivered up his army to his " ſucceſſor Richlieu."

" The military reputation of this man had " been but very little raiſed by the ſurrender " of Minorca to him, amongſt the French " eſpecially, to whom the defence of the " place had not appeared in quite ſo high a " light as the title and ribbon conferred " on the perſon who loſt it, atteſted here."

The author, almoſt tired of abuſing the Pruſſian monarch, to vary the ſubject a little, makes a ſhort tour to France for invidious informations, to indirectly reflect upon the judgment of our moſt gracious ſovereign, and tear the hard-won laurel from the aged brow of Lord Blakeney.

The military capacity of Richlieu (which our author inclines to depreciate) has been eſtabliſhed ſince the battle of Fontenoy. For to his preſence of mind, relative to the four pieces of cannon, which (the French army

being all in confufion) he ordered down to play upon the Engliſh column, that Voltaire elegantly calls,

" *Cette maſſe de feu, cette horrible colonne*
" *Que la terreur devance, que la flamme en-*
" *vironne!*

" A maſs of moving fire! tremendous
" column! preceded by terror, and wrapt
" in flames!"

and alſo to Richlieu's intrepid example charging at the head of ſeveral corps, the ſucceſs of that day was chiefly owing. *See Voltaire's Hiſtory of the laſt War.*

But the drift here is through Richlieu's ſuſpected military character to degrade Lord Blakeney, and reflect on our ſovereign's judgment; for it is a received maxim, that nothing ſtigmatizes a nation more than an injudicious diſpenſation of rewards and puniſhments.

Minorca was vigorouſly defended as long as ſo ſcanty, and almoſt unofficered a garriſon was able to do duty. It ſignifies but little how ſtrong a place is, if there be not men ſufficient to man, nor the requiſite number of officers to direct them; or that the too frequent return of duty quite harraſſes them.

Lord Blakeney held out as long as could be done in ſuch diſagreeable circumſtances; and

and the high compliment paid to him by the French commander for his gallant defence of Fort St. Philip, will be recorded in hiſtory as a ſtanding teſtimonial in his behalf.

Richlieu's being the diſtinguiſhed favourite of his maſter, drew on him the jealouſy of moſt ranks of men, particularly of the military, who therefore were very induſtrious to make ſlight of his invaſion of, and ſubduing of Minorca. We ſhall not pretend to apologize for his conduct in Hanover, as it cannot, on the other ſide be denied, that a man may be a very gallant officer, and of a very rapacious diſpoſition. Our great Marlborough was deemed not a little covetous.

So much for the royal uncle's judicial capacity in honouring military merit. Our author invariably fond of leſſening all the glorious actions of the nephew, ſets in a ridiculous light the battle which redounds the moſt to great Frederic's heroic reputation.

" It was not till juſt after that rout of " ſchool-boys at Roſbach, when the pitiful " run-away figure the French made, might " have rendered them almoſt ſuſpected of a " colluſive game with Pruſſia, that this ſpi- " rit of the Hanoverians and Heſſians de- " clared itſelf."

If the French made a pitiful figure on this occaſion, it muſt be owned that the King of Pruſſia and his troops made a glorious one, and ſtill much more ſo in the battle of

Liſſa;

Liſſa; in conſequence of which it might, without any tincture of adulation, and in ſtrict truth be ſaid, that he ran from victory to victory.

Our perſevering author being reſolved to go through every branch of the Brunſwick family, and to leave them as little merit as poſſible, thus deſcants upon another illuſtrious chieftain of that heroic houſe.

" There is no one can deny, that the ad-
" vantage gained by the gallant prince Fer-
" dinand, at the affair of Crevelt, was great
" enough to deſerve the proclamation of it,
" by the mouths of Tower guns, and by a
" ſolemn thankſgiving."

Thus far one might incline to think this gentleman ſerious, but fearing leſt we ſhould, he thus corrects himſelf, by ſaying, " Other-
" wiſe, it would have been mocking both
" God and man, and that palpably to no
" purpoſe, but to make the ſending of troops
" from here to Germany, go down the
" more glib with ſoldiers and people, under
" all the ſmoke and flaſh of that recent
" ſucceſs."

A very modeſt inſinuation, and not at all reflecting on his majeſty's religion, who iſſued a proclamation for the obſervance of a thankſgiving day. Here he is ſhrewdly ſuppoſed to ſport with heaven, and make it the tool of his politics. Can this be conſiſtent with the whiffling character this author gives

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of him in another part of his pamphlet, to wit, " One of the moſt pacific, humane, and " beſt intentioned monarchs that ever graced " a throne." How can this agree with mocking at heaven to impoſe on man?

But the author, apprehenſive he had gone too far, thus corrects himſelf, " Be it then " granted, that it really was as great as ſo great " a celebration requires it to be thought, and " that no ſtateſman could deſcend to ſo poor " a ſtate trick, as the exaggeration of it would " have been. But even our moſt authentic " gazette gives permiſſion for not thinking " that action any ways a deciſive one."

We ſhall now inform our author of ſomething more than the gazette could have told him; and that is, if the action of Crevelt was not in his ſenſe a deciſive one over the French, it in all probability prevented the French obtaining a deciſive one the following day, over the Hanoverians.

For had prince Ferdinand not made a judicious advance after the enemy, attacked and defeated one of their wings, their plan was to have ſurrounded him the following day, taking advantage of the unfavourable ſituation he was in.

This the prince, like an able general foreſaw; therefore, would not wait for the ripening of the enemy's ſcheme againſt him, but taking time by the forelock, attacked and routed a wing of the French army, conſiſting

ing of their beſt troops, commanded by that experienced officer Monſieur de St. Germain. Sure then a day of thankſgiving for his majeſty's troops having eſcaped from ſuch imminent danger, was very proper and highly becoming of a chriſtian prince, and defender of the faith.

Our vague, rambling, and inaccurate pamphleteer, rather than not advance falſehoods at any rate, thus pompouſly introduces a late celebrated hero, "Such at leaſt was the well known "ſenſe of the great duke of Marlborough, than "whom no man ſince the days of Henry the "Fifth, had done more than himſelf, to level "the power of France in the duſt. Happy "would it have been for the nation, and for "Europe, if a little dirty, jealous, power-hunting court-cabal, had not ſnatched the ſword "out of his hands, juſt as he was on the "point of giving that nation the fatal blow."

The court cabal, which are ſo politely bepitheted here, did not oppoſe the duke of Marlborough, from a conviction of his real deſign being to humble France; but from the experience of years, that ſaid general had made a trafficking war, and that the amaſſing of riches was uppermoſt in his thoughts. Nay, it was his abuſe of ſpinning out the war, that has tranſmitted to poſterity in England, ſuch a national averſion to continental connections; a prudent uſe whereof preponderates to all arguments

guments againſt it, as might be eaſily made appear.

With what licentious contempt our expeditions againſt the French coaſt, are treated? "They may frighten a few peaſants along the "ſea ſide, from their brown bread and onions, "or deſtroy their ſallad, and the hopes of "their ſoupe maigre." This is a pretty ultimate effect of Britiſh troops landing on the French ſhore; nor is the picture of their returning from thence couched in the moſt flattering terms.

"But, when they have done that, what re"mains for them, but, on the firſt alarm of "the national forces coming down, to ſcamper "back on board their ſhips again; a circum"ſtance fitter to teach our ſoldiers the art of "running away, than the art of war."

Thus, in a moment, by the magic pen of this writer, all vigorouſly conceived expeditions or enterpriſes againſt the coaſt of France, are changed into ſo many floating academies of cowardice, which muſt brand the arms of England with infamy. Nay, ſo dexterous a transformer of things is this author, that he converts our hoſtile invaſions into acts of friendſhip to the people of France, which he tells in a very unembarraſſed manner.

"As to any harraſſment the alarm of an "impending deſcent may cauſe along the "coaſt, the French have rather to thank us "for it. They are wiſe enough to have a

" militia on foot, and it is very kind in us, at " our own expence, to keep the forces of it in " breath, to find them in exercise, to inure " them in some measure to fatigue."

This is jocularly advanced, but we, dull-sighted folks, who cannot see so far as quintessential refiners in politics do, humbly imagine the French would be very glad that we should spare them the opportunity of thanking us on such occasions, which they cannot absolutely look upon as acts of kindness from us, as may be gathered from the bishop's mandate, issued at St. Maloe's——likewise, vide Cherburg.

This strain of sarcastic irony, at all expeditions against the coast of France (which doctrine the politicians of Versailles would be very glad should prevail in England) is closed with a very extraordinary quotation.

" But after all, is not this literally incurring " the ridicule of what M. de Mirabeau, not " without reason and humour, calls pretending " to frighten mankind, by packing up men in " wooden boxes, and sending them to spit on " an enemy's shore."

However proper this reflexion may be in a volatile Frenchman's mouth, it is very indecent in an Englishman to repeat it. All ideas relative to our fleet, should be magnified and kept up in the highest estimation, and not to be thus let down, and vilified by burlesque imagery, fit only for the pen of a *Scarron*.

This author's notion of fighting in single com-

combats, being as peculiar and uncommon as any of his political ones, we think his deſcription thereof muſt prove entertaining to our readers, eſpecially thoſe who are pleaſed with a peculiarity of ideas.

" In ſingle combat, no one chuſes to aim " at thoſe parts of his enemy's body that are " defended by proof-armour; he rather feels " out for the weak and unguarded places " where his ſword may beſt enter, and " wound to moſt effect."

From the inapplicability of this manner of fighting in ſingle combat, to the practice of moderns, eſpecially in the year 1758, we muſt naturally conclude it purloined or tranſlated from ſome antient book of chivalry; but what the devil buſineſs has it here? There needs no great effort of the human underſtanding to find out, that an enemy is in prudence to be attacked where we think him weakeſt; nay, the frequently ſkirmiſhing matrons of Billingſgate are of thar oracular opinion.

The ſingularity of thought that runs throughout this pamphlet is ſurprizing; for tho' quite againſt forming any deſcents on the French coaſts, or ſending any forces to the continent, to help in annoying the general diſturber of Europe, it notwithſtanding declares,

" A conſiderable part of our army might " well be ſpared on diſtant ſervice; it might " then, without *gaſconade*, be ſaid that the

" exiſtence of the French in Canada muſt " take an end as ſoon as it ſhould be vigorouſly " undertaken."

The ſending the majority of our troops on ſome diſtant ſervice, might be very favourable to the wiſhes of many perſons diſaffected to our preſent government, by making their long deſired ſcheme appear more feaſible; but that is a ſnare will hardly be given into.

The author has thrown out a very extraordinary queſtion, which he impatiently anſwers himſelf, " What great difference does " it make to the honour of the nation, " whether the character of the *Fribble* or the " *Flaſh* predominates in her councils? The " latter is perhaps the moſt dangerous, and " aſſuredly the moſt ridiculous of the two."

Who may be ſquinted at here under the characters of *Fribble* and *Flaſh*, we are really at a loſs to ſay; and therefore wiſh the author had pointed them out clearly to us. In our ſenſe, it does not appear that any, either of the late or preſent miniſtry, can, with the leaſt propriety, be claſſed under either of theſe ſtigmatized denominations.

At the heel of a very indecent irony that concludes this very prolix and ſelf-repeating pamphlet, breaks out all the virulence of the writer, whoſe aim throughout, it ſeems, is to render not only diſtruſted, but even odious to us, thoſe great characters, upon whom only all reliance for our preſent and future ſafety can be founded both at home and abroad.

" The ſtale over-acted farce of reſigna-
" tions ſeems ſuſpended, and will, it is to be
" hoped, never again come into play, in the
" ſhape of a recoil, only to come on the
" ſurer; or to give the public no other
" ſatisfaction than the ſilly one of ſeeing ra-
" ther other men than other meaſures take
" place; or what is, ſillier yet, the ſame
" men, with the ſame meaſures, dancing
" the political hays, ſometimes eclipſing,
" ſometimes eclipſed by one another."

For the dancing image we are obliged to poet Bays in the Rehearſal---But what can be the meaning of all this twiſted jargon, as well as of the ſubſequent paragraph, equally malicious, and equally falſe, if any ſenſe whatſoever can be tortured from it?

" The ſenſe of the enlightened and the
" impartial multitude begins to look with an
" equal eye on the veterans of corruption,
" and the pretenders to patriotiſm; on the
" worn-out tool of a court, and the muſh-
" room of a much-abuſed popularity, ridi-
" culouſly ſhot up to a cedar height."

" It now judges of both by the tenor
" and tendency of their conduct; and does
" not paſs its opinion on them without firſt
" aſking itſelf that moſt eſſential queſtion,
" *What have they actually done, or what are*
" *they capable of doing?* To which the fair
" and obvious anſwer would ſo often be---
" *Nothing*, or *worſe than nothing*."

This

This author, like certain fanatic preachers cries out, in order to terrify the people; ruin! ruin! and eternal damnation hangs over your devoted heads! It would be kind in both to point out a practical method of salvation; and if this writer be actuated by such a patriot spirit, as he affects to be, he will not hesitate to send in a penny-post letter to Mr. Pitt, (altho' he dislikes him) his superior views for the melioration of the present British system of government, which he may call, *Things as they ought to be!*

His last paragraph, like the last lines of the sixth Æneis of Virgil, seems to hint to us, that he has been but amusing us and himself all this while, and expires by putting this modest question to the public:

"In short, if this is not the true representation of our present condition, or of "*Things as they are*, it may at least be hoped, "that to no Briton will it be imputed as a "very high crime or misdemeanor, that he "should devoutly wish that *they were so.*"

Pray then, Sir, if any Briton, free from imputation of crime, may devoutly wish that *Things were so*, as represented in this pamphlet, what necessity was there for the writing it? A cynic would answer, perhaps, that of the writer. But to us it appears a laboured Work of most dangerous tendency, and cannot be read with too much caution. The political poison is artfully diffused through every page.

FINIS.

AN

APPEAL, &c.

AN

APPEAL

TO

Common Senſe;

OR,

STRIKING REMARKS

ON THE

CONDUCT

OF

L———T G——L BL—GH, and
C———RE LORD H——E,

IN THE

Late Expedition on the Coaſt of France;

WHEREIN

That unhappy Affair is ſet in a more obvious Light than has hitherto been.

By an old experienced OFFICER.

Maxima quæque ambigua ſunt, dum alii quoquo modo audita pro compertis habent, alii vera in contrarium vertunt; et gliſcit utrumque poſteritate.

Tac. Lib. 3. Ann.

LONDON:

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[Price One Shilling.]

A N

Appeal to Common Senſe.

TACITUS obſerves very juſtly in the ſecond book of his hiſtory: "That it is incumbent on the projectors of great enterprizes to weigh well, and duly examine, whether what is intended be of any real utility to the commonwealth, a ſource of glory to themſelves, eaſy in the execution, or at leaſt not difficult."

As this obſervation may not be amiſs in moſt occurrences of life, it ſhould take place methinks in a more particular manner, when the prudent conducting of a war becomes the object of conſideration; and it is therefore in a great meaſure that a nation ought to abſtain from ſuch incidental enterprizes in the waging of a war, as will, tho' ſchemed with judgment, reflect but little honour on the victors, afford but ſlender advantages from the victory; or if attended with an unproſperous iſſue, be, beſides

the loſs ſuſtained, a ſubject of ridicule to other nations.

In another point of view, it ſeems impolitic for a nation: tho' in a very juſt war, and amidſt cauſes of offence aggravated perhaps to the higheſt degree, to trifle away its ſtrength, and the ſinews of war, in endeavouring to reſtrain the power of an enemy by ſuch ways and means as cannot much affect them. They generally are ſeen in theſe encounters to riſe ſuperior to all the checks they receive, and to fight longer than their antagoniſts are able to conquer.

Hence, in the orders of warlike affairs it muſt be highly adviſable to make ſtrenuous efforts for ſtriking at the moſt important and capital things, which when once leaning to deſtruction, will of courſe haſten the like fatality in the reſt, and thus time, and men and expence will be ſpared, and the doubtful events of fortune will find leſs room to exert their baneful influence.

Theſe reflections were the reſult of my reading a pamphlet lately publiſhed, and intitled, A Letter from the Honourable L——t G——l B——gh, to the Right Honourable W——m P——t, Eſq; Se——y of S——te, together with his M——y's Inſtructions for the late Expeditions on the Coaſt of France.—This pamphlet on its firſt appearance was held to be

genuine

genuine; but in a few days after was publicly disavowed, and declared to be spurious by the G—l himself. However I fancied it would not be unacceptable to the public, without apologizing for so doing, to throw together some cursory remarks on the most striking passages in it.

The first thing that occurred worth taking notice of, was to find, that the main intent of the instructions was, "to cause a diversion and to engage the enemy to employ in their own defence, a considerable part of their forces, destined to invade and oppress the liberties of the empire;" and that the secondary intent was "to make some effectual impression on the enemy, by disturbing and shaking the credit of their public loans, and at the same time to secure and protect the commerce of the British subjects, by striking at the principal stations of their privateers, as well as by disconcerting, and in part frustrating their dangerous and extensive operations of war."

It must not be doubted in the least, but that these two views were highly expedient and calculated for being productive of the greatest utility; but unfortunately the event has made appear, that at least the former generally thought to be what was principally aimed at by expeditions to the coast of France, was little or in no respect benefited

by them. The French have rather made additions to, than diminished their forces in Germany. All accounts confirm their present superiority over the allies, and even that they are resolved to stand their ground in the empire, notwithstanding all the warm alarms that may be carried along their sea-coast, and all the descents that may be made on the same: this the French king has declared in a most solemn and peremptory manner to his adherents; and if we believe that there is any faith in man, we may presume, that if possible, he will make good his promise.

Hence we see the *cardo et palmare consilium totius operis*, the main point and grand design of causing a diversion on the coast of France for reducing to a tranquil state our continental connections, quite defeated by the obstinacy of the French in not withdrawing from Germany any part of their forces for a domestic defence. A head well turned for politics might easily conjecture, that the French, who for reasons best known to themselves, keep such numerous armies on foot, both in time of peace and war, were not unprovided with a sufficiency to fight *pro aris et focis* independently of those employed in Germany; so that the English in order to make a tolerable diversion in favour of their common

cause

cause with Hanover and Prussia, should not content themselves in little more than frightening the French, but should with a numerous force, able to oppose and conquer, carry terror and desolation into the heart of their country; otherwise, a handful of men, or an army such as described by general B—gh, must only shew themselves ripe for an instantaneous havock, and as ripe for running away the moment the enemy confronts them.

As we should always propose to ourselves what is most advantageous, yet proportion our resolutions to the possibility of things, it may be thought that the force necessary for effecting a diversion towards securing the liberties of the empire should be adequate to the design; that it was not so it is plain: therefore all the fruits of the expeditions on the coasts of France must revert on ourselves; that is, tho' they failed in satisfying the primary view of compelling the French to employ, or recall in their own defence, a considerable part of their forces, destined to invade the liberties of the empire, and to subvert the independency of Europe, they, notwithstanding, coincided with the secondary view by an indirect sliding into their proper channel of making an impression on the enemy, of disturbing and shaking the credit of their public

public loans, and of protecting the commerce of the British ſubject by ſtriving to deſtroy the principall ſeats of their privateers.

It muſt be confeſſed, that in this latter reſpect a conſiderable land-force is not ſo requiſite. Few are very ſufficient to ſpread an allarm, if an allarm be only intended, and a retreat is eaſy to the ſhipping, unleſs the deſire of a too diſtant peregrination, in hopes of booty, leads me out of the byaſs.

Some are of opinion, and probably not without good reaſon, that all our expeditions on the coaſt of France ſince the commencement of the preſent war, conſidering the great ſums of money expended on them, are rather prejudicial than of any real emolument to the nation. 'Tis true, they are and will be ſaid to reflect luſtre on our arms, and add life and ſtrength to the common cauſe; but would not it avail more, if we had unfeignedly the intereſt of our German friends and allies at heart, to ſend directly to them powerful ſuccours; or if we were willing to annoy and diſtreſs the French effectually, to ſtrike at once ſome important blow in America for the preſervation of our colonies? Here it is that the money and the armaments laviſhed for the moſt part to

little

little purpoſe on viſionary ſchemes for withdrawing the French from Germany, would ſoon repay us with uſury, and perhaps put it out of the enemy's power to raiſe any future conflict or diſturbance.

General B—gh after deſiring us to conſider his M——y's inſtructions to him according to their ſpirit, meaning and intention, without cavilling upon them like a petty-fogging attorney, proceeds to hint the importance of his conqueſt at Cherbourg, the only place pointed out in his inſtructions, "and this is the firſt enterprize, ſays he, upon the coaſt of France, for ſeveral centuries paſt, which has done honour to our country, and brought diſgrace upon the French."

I ſhall not detract from the merits of this conqueſt, believing the caſe to be as ſtated by the G—l; but it will not be improper to make the public acquainted with an anecdote relating to this matter. It is intirely French, and therefore as coming from a people, who ſeldom appear in the favourable light of veracity, deſerving little or no credit.

Letters were handed about in France, written from Valogne and Montepinguet, wherein the conduct of Count de Remond, the commandant at Cherbourg, was cenſured as colluſive with the Engliſh, at

the

the time of their descent near that place. Soon after the French seemed satisfied with his justification in consequence of the good offices of M. de Cremille, who wrote to him the following letter bearing date the 31st of August.

SIR,

"I Received the letter, which you did me the honour to write to me the 21st inst. and the detail you annexed to it of what passed at the descent of the English near Cherbourg. You have experienced on this occasion the contempt of military gentlemen, which is to all panegyrists and censors. For my part, I am persuaded, as I have already said my word, that you have done on this occasion all that could be expected from your prudence and courage."

I have the honour of being, &c.

Signed DE CREMILLE.

Apologies of this kind were succeeded by accounts from the French concerning the state of Cherbourg, which they averred to be positively true. Those accounts were exactly as follows.

"It

" It was not at the creek or bay of Nacqueville, but at that of Urville, where the Engliſh made their deſcent."

" It is notorious, that all our beſt experienced engineers, ſeamen and pilots, who ſounded the bay of Urville, always declared that it was impoſſible to make there any deſcent; and it was therefore that part was never ſecured with redoubts, eſpaulements or batteries. Beſides there was no open for attacking the enemy at the time of their diſembarking."

" Theſe reaſons, the few troops Count de Raymond had, and other circumſtances, but eſpecially the promptitude with which the Engliſh landed their troops, hindered abſolutely their being repulſed. In half an hours time they diſembarked between 3 and 4000 of their beſt troops, and thus ſucceſſively to the amount of between 12 or 13000."

" It is not leſs notorious that the town of Cherbourg is quite open, its back expoſed and commanded on all ſides, and no way tenable; that notwithſtanding Count de Raymond remained there with his handful of men till four o'clock in the afternoon the day after the deſcent, in ſhort, time enough to take along with him all he conveniently could."

" Cherbourg having no gates, the magiſtrates could not deliver the keys to the enemy. The truth of this conſequence is ſufficiently obvious."

" It may be inferred from theſe different obſervations, that in the letters which occaſioned them ſeveral falſehoods are advanced to the prejudice of Count de Raymond, that the notoriety of facts fully juſtifies him, and that his conduct in the conjunctures in queſtion has not fallen ſhort of his former reputation. In fine, thoſe who have a right to paſs a judgement on his operations approve them, and this is all that need be ſaid."

Leaving the affair of Cherbourg to be animadverted upon by all perſons according to their ſeveral humours, or in the manner they think moſt conſonant to truth, I ſhall defer making any further remark on the G——l's ſuppoſed narrative, till the reader can previouſly collate the beſt accounts, both Engliſh and French touching our check at St. Cas.

That lately publiſhed under the ſanction of G—l B—gh's name, was reputed the moſt genuine till publicly diſowned by the G—l himſelf: ſo that if it were only for curioſity's ſake, we need not exclude thoſe of others, as ſomething may be gleaned

gleaned out of them, which we could not regret having ſome knowledge of.

Setting aſide therefore any great deference to the authenticity of the G——l's, which ſhould not be principally conſulted, it will not be improper to make an extract, on the ſide of the Engliſh, from a letter publiſhed in the Hague-gazette of the 29th September, and ſaid to be written by an Engliſh Officer employed in the laſt expedition on the coaſt of France; and on that of the French, from what was publiſhed by authority of the court of Verſailles. The Engliſh Officer's letter runs thus.

SIR,

"THE day after we ſailed from St. Helen's, we entered the channel, and remained there till the 3d September, when having joined the fleet, we proceeded directly in our route towards the coaſts of France, and the ſame evening caſt anchor about five miles to the weſt of St. Malo."

"The 4th a great part of the day was taken up in diſembarking the troops, which we executed without other loſs than that of ten men, who were unfortunately drowned. No French troops appearing where we diſembarked, we formed with-

out the leaſt obſtacle, and having marched immediately towards an eminence ſituate about half a mile from the ſhore, encamped there. I was detached in the night with a picquet of fifty men, and having taken poſt within half a league of the camp, to prevent a ſurprize we paſſed the whole night under arms. We killed a few of the enemy, and made ſeveral others priſoners, who were ſent with the deſign to diſcover our poſition and number. Each of us knew that St. Malo was the place intended to be attacked."

"The 5th the commandant of the fleet came aſhore with prince Edward. They accompanied the Generals as far as a village ſituate within three miles of St. Malo, and being gone from thence to reconnoitre the environs of the place, were much incommoded by the enemy's cannon, and a ball fell very near the prince. Towards evening Sir William Bothby returned to the camp. He was ſent with a detachment of 300 grenadiers to ſet fire to all the ſhips and other veſſels in the docks about St. Malo, which he executed with great bravery, having burnt 13."

"The 6th the whole day was ſpent in holding ſeveral councils of war, in one of which lord Howe having aſſured General Bligh,

Bligh, that it was impoſſible to aſſiſt him in bombarding the town, unleſs he would have him run the riſk of deſtroying all the veſſels of the fleet, by reaſon of the dangerous ſituation of the port, ſurrounded by a chain of rocks, it was conſequently unanimouſly reſolved not to attack St. Malo. Lord Howe repreſented alſo to the general that it was not proper to re-embark the troops at the ſame place where they were landed, and this was the reaſon of our being obliged to march eighteen miles farther, in order to find a commodious place for the re-embarkment."

"The 7th at break of day the whole army was in motion. Our march was ſeveral times interrupted by ſome ſmall parties of the enemy, who firing upon us from behind the thickets, killed ten of our ſoldiers, and wounded two officers. Towards ſix in the evening we halted, and encamped within half a mile of a village called St. Briac. 'Twas here, near which is a river we were to paſs the next day, that the enemy uſed their beſt endeavours to haraſs us. Even that night we were frequently allarmed, and they appeared ſeveral times in order of battle on the other ſide of the river, but without our ſuſtaining by them the leaſt damage."

"The

" The 8th the whole army paſſed the river. On this occaſion the enemy firing very briſkly on us, our general ſent them a meſſage by a Friar, that if they did not ceaſe firing, he would reduce to aſhes all the villages through which he ſhould paſs. As no anſwer was returned, orders were given to ſet fire to all the places on our paſſage. We loſt that day ten ſoldiers and an officer, and we had alſo ſome wounded. That evening we entered betimes our camp, and paſſed the night in it very quietly."

The 9th we reſumed our march. Towards eleven o'clock in the forenoon, our advanced guards were attacked by five companies of the enemy's regular troops; but they met with ſuch a warm reception, that in one only diſcharge about two hundred of them were killed or wounded, and the reſt put to flight. At two in the afternoon we paſſed through a little town called Matignon, and encamped about half a league from it. We loſt this day thirty of our men. Eleven were made priſoners, and one of them, who found means to eſcape, related that his comrade had been maſſacred in a very barbarous manner. About ten at night our picquets, or patroles having taken a French dragoon at a little diſtance from his troop, he was obliged on pain of death, to declare what

might

might be the enemy's forces. He therefore informed us, that they conſiſted of eleven regiments of foot and five regiments of horſe or dragoons, who had with them a train of ten pieces of cannon and two mortars; that they were encamped within three miles of us, and that they were reſolved to attack us the next morning. Our general not judging it prudent to wait the coming up of the enemy, whoſe forces were ſo ſuperiour to ours, gave orders to paſs the whole night under arms, and to repair, as ſoon as poſſible to ſome poſt, whence we might proceed in ſafety to the place, where the men of war and tranſports were ready to receive us. Tho' the French had got before us, we could notwithſtanding hear their drums beating a march, and as in the mean time ſeveral deſerters came over to us, we were informed by them that the enemy's deſign was to poſt themſelves between us and the ſhore, and by this means to cut off our retreat, which they might have done, if the bringing up of their artillery, which was retarded by the bad roads, had not embaraſſed them the better part of the morning. At break of day we were in motion and marched with diligence towards the ſhore. During this march, the French were always at our heels, and whilſt we advanced towards our boats, their whole army

army displayed its ranks, and poured in upon us a ſharp cannonading. Their infantry at the ſame time filed off in all haſte to put us between two fires. We then redoubled our pace to get to our boats, in which ſeveral were killed and wounded. The guards and grenadiers had orders to make a front, to cover our retreat, and to hinder the maſſacre which we had reaſon to expect. When we were embarked, all the French infantry engaged our guards and grenadiers, together with ſuch as could not yet get aboard. The fire was terrible on both ſides and laſted without intermiſſion two hours and a half. At laſt the Engliſh guards having given way, the grenadiers followed their example; and as there was no poſſibility of their retreating in an enemy's country, they were obliged to throw themſelves into the ſea, and ſhift as well as they could to get aboard the tranſports. Several of them were killed in the water, and and thoſe who knew not how to ſwim, were drowned. At one in the afternoon the fire intirely ceaſed, and the French after crying victory, ſung immediately *Te deum* on the field of battle. Our loſs in this action amounts to 700 men, excluſive of 45 officers killed and wounded. The greater part of thoſe who were wounded had their limbs ſhot off. General Drury was killed

in

in the water, whilſt he was endeavouring to eſcape. Sir William Bothby, who was ſecond in command over the grenadiers, ſwam upwards of two miles to make the beſt of his way to a ſhip, as did alſo a captain of our regiment. At the beginning of the action the French would give no quarter, which reduced our people to the melancholy neceſſity of throwing themſelves into the ſea."

The relation made public by the court of Verſailles concerning the action of St. Cas, is expreſſed in the following manner.

"The duke of Aiguillon having been informed the 5th of September in the evening, at St. Matthieu near Breſt, that the Engliſh fleet after appearing the 3d within a league to the north of St. Malo, and caſting anchor there a part of the day, had the 4th landed at St. Briac a corps of between 12 and 13,000 men, diſpatched immediately couriers to the commandants of the ſeveral diſtricts of the province, to advance on that ſide with the troops under their command, except the garriſons of Belle-Iſle, Orient, Port-Louis and the county of Nantz."

"The troops that were cantoned in the neighbourhood of Breſt, began to be in motion the ſame evening; and none were

left there but the regiment of Talaru, with a battalion of the Marine, and five of the Garde-Côtes. The duke of Aiguillon ſet out in the night, and went directly to Lamballe, where he learned the 6th on his arrival, that the enemy had eſtabliſhed their camp between St. Briac and Dinant, and puſhed detachments to Ploubalay and Pleurtin, within two leagues of Dinant. Hereupon he ordered the ſame night the troops M. d'Aubigny had brought from Treguier, and which juſt arrived at Lamballe in two forced marches, to advance towards that place. This poſt was very important, becauſe it ſecured the communication with the troops that were in St. Malo, and with thoſe which were to march from the county of Nantz to Hedé, and more eſpecially, becauſe all our proviſions were laid up in it. It was occupied the 7th before noon, as was alſo Planconet by 800 Garde-Côtes, which retarded the progreſs of the enemy and afforded ſome inſight into their motions."

"The 8th the duke of Aiguillon having advanced as far as the latter place within three leagues of Lamballe, learned about night-fall, that the enemy had decamped from St. Briac in the morning, and that their right was marching towards the Guildo, to paſs it the next day within a

ſmall

ſmall league of Planconet. This motion having determined him to haraſs their left, he accordingly ordered M. d'Aubigny to advance the 9th to Plouer, with the regiment of Brie, the battalion of Marmande, the firſt of the foreign volunteers, three of the militia for guarding the coaſts and two ſquadrons of dragoons, and to diſpatch the Chevalier de Polignac as far as Pleurtin. The Marquis de la Chaſtre had orders at the ſame time to leave St. Malo with the regiment of Boulonnois, the battallion of Fontenay-le-Comte, and two of the Gardes-Cotes, to paſs the river of Rance, to proceed to Ploubalay, and to ſend off on his left a detachment under the command of M. de Beon, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Boulonnois, in order to keep open a communication with the Chevalier de Polignac."

"The 9th the enemy paſſed the Guildo, and encamped between St. Jeguhel and the wood of Val. Planconet being expoſed by this poſition, the third battalion of foreign volunteers, and two ſquadrons of dragoons were poſted there in the evening; and the Chevalier de St. Pern was detached in the night with 400 men, to advance as far as St. Potan and to obſerve the march of the enemy."

" The 19th the English at break of day proceeded to and encamped at Matignon. Hereupon, the regiments of Bourbon, Briſſac, Breſſe and Quercy, which arrived the evening before at Lamballe, advanced to Henan within a league of Matignon. The Count de Balleroy there joined them with two ſquadrons, and took upon him the command of this column. The ſecond battalion of the regiment of Penthievre went from Jugon to Planconet. M. d'Aubigny and the Marquis de la Chaſtre had orders to join and to paſs the Guildo. About noon, the duke of Aiguillon marched from Henan with a large detachment to Matignon, to reconnoitre the poſition of the enemy, which appeared to him very advantageous and unattackable on that ſide. Being therefore determined to turn their left, he marched through Ruca to St. Potan, where the Marquis de Brock was poſted with eight companies of grenadiers, twelve picquets, and 200 dragoons. M. d'Aubigny with his corps was poſted on the right, and the reſt of the troops at Plieduno, a league behind, except the royal regiment des Vaiſſeaux, which did not arrive till it was night at Henan with a diviſion of the artillery."

" The Marquis de Brock had orders to keep firing all the night on the advanced guards

guards of the enemy, and to march against them, if they decamped."

"The 11th the enemy who during the night had made their diſpoſitions for retiring, began at break of day to fall back on St. Cas. The Marquis de Brock purſued them, and ſent advice to the Count de Balleroy, who marched immediately to ſupport him. The Duke of Aiguillon rode off with all poſſible ſpeed with the Marbeuf regiment of dragoons, and joined the Marquis de Brock's detachment, whoſe head was arrived on the hateur of St. Cas. The dragoons were immediately ordered to diſmount, the ground not permitting any operation on horſeback. It was then about nine in the morning. The enemy's fleet was drawn up in line of battle, and the flat-bottom boats began to take aboard the troops that were alſo in order of battle on the flat ſhore, towards the bottom of the bay of St. Cas, behind the downs, and the entrenchments they had thrown up for protecting their embarkment. Our troops arrived with incredible ſpeed on the hills of St. Cas. As ſoon as the enemy perceived their head, they began to cannonade and bombard them from four or five frigates, and as many bomb-ketches, which were very near land. Our cannon arrived and began to fire about ten o'clock. The

Duke

Duke of Aiguillon immediately decided the manner of our attack. He placed on the right of the flat ſhore the Count de Balleroy, with the regiments of Vaiſſeaux, Bourbon, Briſſac, Breſſe and Querçy, to proceed along the hedges and a bank of ſand leading to the left of the enemy's entrenchments. M. d'Aubigny was ordered to the left with the regiments of Bourbonnois and Brie, the battalions of Fontenay-le-Comte, Marmande, and the firſt of foreign volunteers, to file off to the right below the hamlet of the iſland; and the Marquis de Brock had orders to march directly with his detachment before the enemy's center. The ſecond batallion of Penthievre, with the third of the foreign volunteers, under the command of the Chevalier de St. Pern, made the corps de reſerve. The Chevalier de Redmont, the quarter-maſter general was charged to lead on the column of the left, in the road that was reconnoitred for forming his attack. The Chevalier de Fontette, Aide-Quarter-Maſter general, was put in that of the center, and M. Bouſquet, a Major of the Royal Regiment des Vaiſſeaux, in the function of Major-General, in that of the right."

" Whilſt all theſe diſpoſitions were executing with a ſingular ardour and diligence in the troops, the fire of the enemy's frigates

gates and bomb-ketches did not ceaſe, and was of an extraordinary briſkneſs. The column of the left made the firſt onſet about half an hour after eleven, and was ſoon followed by the center and the right. The troops charged with an aſtoniſhing ſpeed and valour the enemy's entrenchments, notwithſtanding the prodigious fire from the artillery of the fleet, as well cannon and bombs, as muſquet-ſhot from their main-top-maſts, and ſeveral armed ſhallops on their flanks. The enemy endeavoured to march forward and to form a column by their center; but the fire of ſome pieces of cannon, which M. Villepatour, who commanded the artillery, made on the right, ſoon obliged them to retire. The attack became general and laſted an hour and a half. The enemy were forced, and our artillery killed ſeveral of them, as they were endeavouring to re-embark. Three of their boats laden with ſoldiers were ſunk. They alſo loſt numbers in ſeveral others that were making to the fleet. The fire ceaſed towards two o'clock in the afternoon. The frigates and bomb-ketches began to ſheer off, either on account of the arrival of our heavy artillery, which might be perceived on the hill, or becauſe the tide was on the ebb. The ſtrand was covered with the enemy's dead bodies, and a conſiderable

siderable number of them floated on the water. About 300 remained on the shore, among whom were several officers of distinction, as a Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel of the guards, exclusive of those killed in the boats, or drowned. General Drury is of the number of the latter. We took 800 prisoners, and thirty-nine officers, some of whom are of the first families in England, three or four Colonels, as many Lieutenant-Colonels, and four Captains of ships, who waited on shore to command the manœuvre of the embarkment. This corps of troops was totally destroyed. We know from the enemy themselves, that of twelve companies of grenadiers, some of seventy and others of 100 men, as also of the volunteers of the marines, not one re-embarked. Their loss may amount in the whole to 4000 men. Ours is about 400 in killed and wounded; but the loss of our officers is in proportion more considerable than that of the soldiers. The regiments of Brie and Boulonnois suffered much, having been obliged to pass through a difficult ground, under the fire of the enemy's frigates to attack their entrenchments. Notwithstanding this obstacle, these regiments marched on with a resolute intrepidity, as did also all the companies of grenadiers and piquets, who in

like

like manner loſt many. No troops could ever ſhew more bravery and good-will. They proceeded to the attack with incredible diligence, in deſpight of the fatigue of redoubled marches, the greater part having traverſed near fifty leagues of Bretany in four day's time."

After a little mature reflection on theſe two different accounts, which it was thought neceſſary to premiſe, we may be in a condition to give a good gueſs at the cauſe of our diſaſter at St. Cas: for to aver any thing as certain truth, a man muſt be in the ſecret of affairs, and muſt know how the influence or impreſſion of the *primum mobile* directs the action and reaction of all the ſprings and wheels in the political machine.

When the attacking of St. Malo was poſtponed, or totally laid aſide by reaſon of ſome intervening inſuperable difficulties, or that other matters were to be atchieved preparatory to the ſucceſs of this attack, we learn, that on the 6th of September, the day was ſpent in holding ſeveral councils of war, and that L—d H—e having repreſented to G——l B—h that it was not proper or convenient to re-embark the troops at the ſame place where they diſembarked, they were in conſequence of this inconveniency, be it what it will, imaginary or

 real,

real, obliged to march at a conſiderable diſtance, in order to find a commodious place for the re-embarkment.

In a queſtion of ſuch moment as this, it may be aſked, what were the juſt reaſons for deferring the re-embarkment, why it could not be effected at the ſame place, and on what motives ſo inconſiderable a force, as about ſix thouſand five hundred men, (if we muſt believe our own accounts) ſhould be ſent on a long and painful march through an enemy's country?

If it was reſolved not to attack St. Malo, through the apprehenſion of great danger, and if the troops that were landed had nothing more to tranſact in that neighbourhood than what they did, why then were they not allowed to re-embark on a more practicable deſtination? Did the wind blow ſo hard from the ſhore, was the ſea ſo rough, was the weather ſo obſtinately tempeſtuous, that the flat-bottom boats could not put in and take them aboard? If L—d H—e after conſidering the ſituation of the whole coaſt to the weſt, preſumed it was expedient for the fleet to repair to St. Cas Bay in order to greater ſafety, why did not he take the troops along with him? No; it was found more expedient that they ſhould remain ſome time aſhore at Matignon to create a diverſion, to alarm the

country.

country, and contribute by this means to the recalling of troops from Germany. A fine recalling indeed! And no doubt to be accompliſhed by ſix thouſand five hundred men on the coaſt of Britany. *O magnus poſthac inimicis riſus!* -

If the recalling of troops from Germany cannot be a plauſible reaſon, tho' alledged as the chief one, in G——l B—gh's pretended letter, perhaps this march was calculated for ſeizing upon ſome places where the French had their magazines, and laying the country under contribution. But what places, what magazines were ſeized? What convoys intercepted? What contributions raiſed? Of all this not a word: on the contrary we hear of our troops harraſſed with loſs by the enemy, paſſing rivers and ſtruggling in quick-ſands, ſome of the ſoldiers loſing their firelocks in the water, others almoſt drowned, and others narrowly eſcaping by being hauled out with tent-poles.

Let us ſuppoſe for a moment, as no abſurdity will follow from a poſſibility which may be reduced to a fact, that, whilſt the fleet on account of ſafety was taking a tour from the Bay of St. Lunaire to that of St. Cas, our troops even on proceeding directly to the latter place without a tergiverſation of near four days, had been ſuprized

by the French in ambuſcade, or attacked by a ſuperior body of troops. In ſuch caſe, where would the reſource be for a retreat in an enemy's country? Our men muſt be all inevitably cut off, or if dealt with humanely, become priſoners of war. Nothing ſaved them from immediate deſtruction, but a long march of fifty leagues of Bretany, the greater part of the ſeveral French detachments were obliged to undertake, before they could well muſter into an embodied force for making head againſt us. This even might be our caſe, if the French in invading us, could not be immediately repulſed on their deſcent: for probably we ſhould take up ſome time for marching our forces from different and diſtant parts to oppoſe them. Beſides, G——l B—gh intimates, "That it was always in the French General's power, either to give us battle, or to retire, till ſuch time as he could be ſure of overpowering us by numbers, or at leaſt making our retreat extremely difficult."

It is natural to think, that our troops by not being re-embarked in the place where they were firſt landed, and by being ſent on ſuch a fruitleſs and unneceſſary march, were deſtined to fall victims to the ſword of the French, ſuppoſing always that they were ſo few in number as G——l B—gh makes them; or that at beſt the ſcheme

ſa-

ſavoured much of a Don Quixote-Adventure.

If according to the French accounts we had really landed between twelve and thirteen thouſand men, it might be well ſaid that we were then in a condition of annoying and diſtreſſing the enemy, and that the march to St. Cas, or elſewhere was not amiſs. A battle, if neceſſary, by ſecuring a retreat in the view of an unproſperous event, ſhould not be declined; and even as affairs ſtood with only ſix thouſand five hundred fighting men, when the retreat was ſecured as far as St. Cas, and in the preſence of our ſhips of war, it ſeemed highly imprudent to embark one man.

The ground for fighting on, was, according to G——l B—gh's own confeſſion, almoſt as advantageous for us, in many places, as for the enemy, the beach being about three quarters of a mile long, with a ſand-bank in front, which covered our troops, whilſt the frigates could fire with great facility over them upon the enemy. Thus, if the advice of Lieutenant-Colonel Clerk, the Quarter-Maſter-General, was followed, which was, to diſembark the reſt of the light horſe and field-pieces and advance to attack the enemy, it was rational to expect that ſuch an operation, aided by the fire of our frigates, bomb-

bomb-ketches and armed ſhallops, would have compelled the French, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, to retire and leave the coaſt free to our troops for embarking without interruption.

Inſtead of this, when it was known that the French were at our heels, and that there was no poſſibility of embarking time enough all the troops, for the ſake of ſaving ſome in a cowardly manner, the reſt were deſerted, and in a great meaſure defenceleſs, to be maſſacred by the enemy.

We can now pride ourſelves, and well we may, in our military conduct! If we have any conſolation left, it muſt be only that of preſuming, that we will be more cautious for the future in guarding againſt the doubtful and dangerous events our expeditions may be attended with; and that as to our late check, we ſhould humble ourſelves under the hand of providence, which was pleaſed to chaſtize us by blinding in ſo ſignal a manner our wit and judgement: for the firſt blow that God commonly gives a man, is in his brain, whereby he takes from him his judgement, that he may run headlong to his ruin.

I cannot help here taking notice of ſome remarks of a very ſingular nature, which for aught I know, without any foundation

tion were palmed upon us by the Amſterdam Gazette of the 3d October. That they might not be thought an impoſition on the public, I ſhall firſt ſet them down as they occurred to me in French, and afterwards for the Engliſh reader's ſake, give an exact tranſlation of them.

LONDRES *le* 26 *Septembre.* Quoique la conquête du *Cap-Breton* ſoit très propre à nous faire oublier nos diſgraces paſſées, notre miniſtere voit bien le vuide des autres expeditions de cette diſpendieuſe campagne, et n'a pas moins d'attention que d'habileté à le cacher aux yeux du vulgaire. Il ſçait que le peuple eſt une grande machine tournante ſur le pivot de l'illuſion, et que les mains de la politique doivent la diriger adroitement vers une perſpective toujours agréable. Ainſi pour effacer l'impreſſion qu'a pû faire ſur l'eſprit de la multitude le mauvais ſuccès de notre derniere deſcente près de *St. Malo*, on a ſoin de lui préſenter l'objet d'une autre enterpriſe qui terminera, dit-on, la campagne par un coup d'eclat auquel nos ennemis ne s'attendent pas; et pour exciter davantage la curioſité populaire, on envelope le projet d'un voile myſterieux. On dit ſécrettement à l'un: *Mylord Howe ne retourne point ſur la Côte*

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de France, *mais il taillera bien de la besogne dans l'endroit ou il va*; à l'autre: *nous allons reprendre ce que nous avons perdu, afin de garder ce que nous avons pris.* Les eſprits, occupez de ces grandes idées, remplis de ces flateuſes eſpèrances, oublient dèja que les ſables de *St. Caſt* ſont baignez du ſang de nos meilleures troupes. Le Lord Howe et le general Bligh, toujours bien accueillis à la cour, ſe diſpoſent à retourner à *Portſmouth* afin d'y hâter les prèparatifs de la nouvelle expedition. On y conſtruit 14 bateaux-plats qui doivent être achevez dans l'eſpace de 12 jours. C'eſt pour remplacer ceux que les François ont coulez à fond lors du fatal rembarquement. On radoube et ravitaille avec la plus grande promptitude les vaiſſeaux de guerre et les bâtimens de tranſport. On va tirer des trois regimens des gardes à pied 10 hommes par compagnie pour remplir les vuides que l'action du 11 a occaſionnez dans les trois battaillons de ces mêmes gardes. On complettera auſſi les autres corps, et même toutes ces troupes ſeront conſiderablement augmentèes. Voilà ce qui concerne les diſpoſitions de l'entrepriſe projetté.

LONDON, *September* 26. Tho' the conqueſt of Cape-Breton be very ſufficient to make

make us forget our paſt diſgraces, yet our miniſtry cannot help perceiving the inſignificancy of the other expeditions of this expenſive and waſteful campaign, and are therefore not leſs attentive than ingenious in hiding it from the eyes of the public. They well know that the people is a great machine ſet in motion on the pivot of deluſion, and that the artful machinations of politics ſhould always lay open to them an agreeable perſpective. Thus to deface the impreſſion in their minds, that might be occaſioned by the ill ſucceſs of our laſt deſcent near St. Malo; care has been taken to expatiate in ample terms on another enterprize, which will terminate, as it is ſaid, the campaign by ſome blow of importance, the enemy are little aware of; and in order to excite popular curioſity to a greater degree, the ſcheme is wrapped up in a myſterious veil. One is privately whiſpered: "Lord Howe will not return to the Coaſt of France, but he will cut out rare work where he is to go." Another is told: "We are going to regain what we loſt, in order to keep what we have taken." The ſubject amuſed with theſe grand ideas, filled with theſe flattering hopes, forget already that the ſands of St. Cas are bathed with the blood of our beſt troops. Lord Howe

and General Bligh, ſtill graciouſly received at court, are getting ready to return to Portſmouth for accelerating the preparations of the new expedition. Fourteen flat bottom boats are building there, and are to be finiſhed in twelve days time. They are deſigned for replacing thoſe the French ſunk at the time of the fatal re-embarkment. The men of war are refitting and victualling with all poſſible ſpeed. Ten men out of every company will be draughted from the three regiments of Foot-Guards, to fill up the vacancies the action of the 11th occaſioned in the three batallions of the ſame guards. The other corps will alſo be completed, and even all theſe troops will be conſiderably augmented. This is what concerns the diſpoſitions of the intended enterprize.

As for the other parts and *innuendoes* of G—l B—gh's ſuppoſed letter, which aim at a ſelf-juſtification, I ſhall paſs them by unnoticed, and ſaying only *credat Iudæus appella*, ſhall conclude by obſerving, that none but a great Captain can conduct well an enterprize againſt an enemy's country, becauſe ſuch muſt be the effect of a prudence above what is common, accompanied by an extraordinary valour.

The order it is neceſſary to follow on theſe occaſions, conſiſts principally in keeping as much as poſſible the deſign concealed under the appearance of ſome pretext which prudence will ſuggeſt to be ſpecious. This is difficult on account of the great number of perſons it is ſometimes neceſſary to communicate the matter, to diſpoſe all things for execution. The time and place may notwithſtanding be diſſembled, and when to act is really intended, it will not be unadviſable to do ſomething that might ſhew the reſolution poſtponed, and that if it is to be executed, it will not be where the attack is pretended. This manner of proceeding with regard to an enemy will occaſion the ſurprize of their places, and thoſe that guard them, being unprepared for a defence, will be ſoon forced to ſurrender.

Next, a proper time and favourable opportunity ſhould be ſought for towards effecting whatever is intended: for it is certain that opportunities are of the greateſt weight in affairs, and that it is generally of them good or ill ſucceſs depends.

It was therefore that Julius Cæſar, as Suetonius remarks, was not ſo much bent upon executing his deſigns in the time he had reſolved, as according to the opportunities preſented by fortune, chooſing fre-

quently the worſt ſeaſons, when it was little thought he would take the field.

Place is not of leſs conſequence than time, daily experience teaching thoſe employed in the profeſſion of arms, that it is very conſiderable, either for marching, encamping, or fighting, the three principal military operations.

But when opportunity preſents a favourable time and place, diſpatch is requiſite not to loſe it; for delays ruin the moſt glorious deſigns, when diligence may obtain a thouſand victories.

It is alſo neceſſary to ſecond this diſpatch with a briſk and lively courage that may aſtoniſh the enemy by ſurprizing them: for beſides that fortune befriends valour, all yields to the bravery of him, who undertakes in a reſolute manner, and it is therefore that this virtue is allowed to be the moſt certain pledge of victory.

Fortune, or rather divine providence favours uſually thoſe, who by being poſſeſſed of a true generous ſpirit, are animated to atchieve grand enterprizes. Not that God works miracles to facilitate and procure their ſucceſs; it is their reſolute confidence that gives them great advantages, particularly when under the guidance of prudence; and divine providence conforming to the

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diſpoſition of ſecond cauſes favours them with aſſiſtance. It is this reſolute confidence that enlivens the heart with a certain hope, and ſerves as a ſpur to ſtimulate courage in the attempt of great deſigns, when a timerous irreſolute behaviour muſt quite mar the beſt concerted meaſures. It is alone capable of ſtriking terror into the greater part of the enemy's troops, who fighting not ſo much through courage as by neceſſity, are uſually put to flight when they ſee themſelves attacked with an extraordinary ardour and briſkneſs. But who does not know, that it is it, that encourages to invade and ſubdue others? Experience has evinced on ſeveral occaſions, that the Prince, or General who attacks another, has a much greater advantage than him, who deſigns to keep upon the defenſive, eſpecially when prudence conducting him, he attacks in a time which ſeems favourable, as when their forces are elſewhere employed, or harraſſed, or diſarmed.

Thoſe who have conſidered with judgment the victories of Cæſar, may well attribute the cauſe of them to the generous ſpirit that ſeemed born with him, and which ſet him upon all his enterprizes without dreading any thing, and even to the degree of making him deſpiſe the inexorable rage

of

of the winds and ſea, and forbid the daſtardly ſteerſman that conveyed him, to be under any apprehenſion, becauſe he carried in his ſkiff the fortune of Cæſar. His ſoldiers never gave way but he immediately ran before them to ſtop ſhort their flight, and lead them again to the enemy. No dangers were capable of terrifying him. He believed that death was the end of life, but not that it was a misfortune. His happineſs he made to conſiſt in the glory of conqueſts, and the greatneſs of his enterprizes ſerved to redouble the vigour of his courage. Hence it was, that fortune was always favourable to him, and his example ſhews that nothing is impoſſible to a noble and generous ſpirit.

The King of Pruſſia ſeems to tread in his footſteps, and tho' cramped by the number and power of his enemies, has exhibited many ſpecimens of Cæſar's ſpirit, tho' unhappily much ſhort of his fortune.

I heartily wiſh my countrymen ſucceſs in all their future expeditions, if ſuch are found abſolutely neceſſary for diſtreſſing the enemy, and as on theſe occaſions they muſt conſider themſelves in the light of invaders, let them be mindful to ſeek battle and make ſhort work. Warlike enterprizes in a foreign country ſhould begin by attacking

ſing the moſt important place. The reaſon is, becauſe the firſt attack elſewhere by alarming the whole country, occaſions the throwing of troops with the neceſſary ammunition and proviſions into the principal place, whence it may be impoſſible afterwards to ſurprize it: "Let us attack firſt Rome, ſaid the enemies of the Roman people in Herodotus, which is the heart and citadel of the empire, and we ſhall eaſily have the reſt." In like manner Cæſar ſaid that the Romans could not promiſe themſelves a ſecure ſettlement in Gaul, 'till they had made themſelves maſters of the city of Autun, which was the principal, and of which depended the loſs and conqueſt of all the reſt. Whoever is in poſſeſſion of the gates of a town, will ſoon if he pleaſes make himſelf maſter of the whole town: in like manner the principal fortreſs of a country being once gained, all the other places are under ſuch reſtraint, and are ſo curbed and check'd, that they either can effect nothing, or may be reduced at pleaſure. Had our troops not fooled away time in the environs of St. Malo, they would not have met with the diſaſter they did at St. Cas.

FINIS.

A

LETTER

OF

CONSOLATION

TO

Dr. *SHEBBEARE.*

SIR,

AS the Unhappy are entitled to Compaſſion, and Diſtreſs of every Kind affords a juſt Claim to Commiſeration, you cannot be offended at any Attempt to remove the Inquietude of Mind that may been occaſioned by your late Sentence, or at my endeavouring to alleviate the Smart, by pouring in the Balm of Conſolation. Misfortunes brought upon ourſelves by Raſhneſs and Folly, are too often treated with Neglect, and even with Ridicule; but the Men of true Humanity will feel for Diſtreſs however it is occaſioned; and the compaſſionate Judge

will ever be ſenſible of the tender Emotions of Pity for the Criminal whom he is obliged, by the Laws of Humanity, as well as thoſe of his Country, to condemn.

From theſe Conſiderations, Sir, you may expect all the Candour, and all the Lenity, that your Situation demands, and I ſhall not diſappoint theſe juſt Expectations. I am not afraid to ſay, that I have a warm, an ardent Love of Liberty. This I conſider as the invaluable Privilege of every *Briton*; a Privilege purchaſed by the Blood and Treaſures of our Anceſtors; and which, I hope, in Spite of all Oppoſition, will be handed down to our lateſt Poſterity. A conſiderable Branch of this ineſtimable Bleſſing is the Liberty of the Preſs, which ought to be ever ſacred; and every Attempt to ſuppreſs it, will be reſented by a free People.

In this every honeſt *Briton* will agree with me. But it may be neceſſary here to conſider more attentively the Nature of Liberty, and in what this Bleſſing, ſo juſtly dear to every Man born in this happy Iſland, muſt conſiſt. Civil Liberty then, is the free Power of doing every Thing we pleaſe, that is not inconſiſtent with

with the Laws which we ourſelves have made by our Repreſentatives; or, in other Words, the free Power of doing what is neither inconſiſtent with the Tranquility and Happineſs of the State, or of any Individual: For none can pretend that he has a Right to violate the Laws, to raiſe a Sedition, to plunder or cut the Throat of his Neighbour, whenever he pleaſes: A Man is indeed left at Liberty to do what he chuſes; but if he abuſes this Freedom, by committing a Robbery or Murder, none will condemn the Laws which bring him to Juſtice. Thus, by the Liberty of the Preſs, we have the Power of communicating our Thoughts to the Public, on any Subject, without our being obliged to ſubject them to the Inſpection of a Licencer of the Preſs; but if we abuſe this Liberty, by endeavouring to debauch the Morals of the People, or to raiſe an Inſurrection, none ſure will blame the Government for interpoſing, and preventing the People from being deluded by Falſhood and Calumny, and inflamed by Sedition. The Liberty of the Preſs has therefore its Limits, like Liberty of Action; it cannot give us a Right to violate the Laws, to ſtrive to overturn a Frame of Government the moſt

perfect and excellent, or to incite the People to rise in Rebellion against Measures in themselves the most wisely adapted to promote the general Happiness. Thus while a Person is justly liable to be punished for saying any Thing to the Prejudice of the meanest Tradesman, or the lowest Mechanic, it cannot be thought an Injury to the Liberty of the Press, to punish one who has, in Print, defamed and misrepresented, in the grossest Manner, all who have been concerned in the Government for these seventy Years past, who snatched the Laurels won by our Patriots and Generals, and offered the most virulent and invenomed Abuse, the most flagrant Insults on his present Majesty, and his royal Father.

You will be apt to imagine, that I have now rambled far from my Subject; but the above Definitions of Liberty are only given, to shew you what little Reason you have to complain of Severity; and to afford you the high Satisfaction and Comfort you must certainly feel, when you reflect what would have been your dreadful Fate, had you lived in the Reign of the *Stuarts*, when, according to

to you, Liberty and Happineſs ſhone in all their Luſtre.

In thoſe bleſſed, in thoſe deſirable Times, ſo much extolled by you, there was not the leaſt Shadow of this Liberty, which is now enjoyed in its fulleſt Extent. In the Reign of *Charles* I. * a Decree was made in the Star-Chamber to this Effect. " That none ſhall preſume " to print any Book or Pamphlet what- " ſoever, unleſs it be firſt licenſed by the " Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or the Bi- " ſhop of *London* for the Time being, " or by their Appointment; and within " the Limits of either Univerſity, by the " Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor thereof; " upon Pain that every Printer, ſo of- " fending, ſhall for ever thereafter be diſ- " abled to exerciſe the Art of Printing, " and ſhall ſuffer ſuch farther Puniſhment, " as by this Court, or the High Com- " miſſion, ſhall be thought fitting; that " before any Books, imported from fo- " reign Parts, ſhall be expoſed to Sale, a " true Catalogue of them ſhall be pre- " ſented to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, " or the biſhop of *London*: And that no " Officer of the Cuſtoms ſhall deliver

* In *July*, 1637.

" any foreign Books out of their Cuſtody,
" before thoſe Biſhops ſhall have appoint-
" ed one of their Chaplains, or ſome
" other learned Man, with the Maſter
" and Wardens of the Company of Sta-
" tioners, or one of them, to be preſent
" at the Opening of the Pack and Far-
" dels, and to view the ſame.—And if
" in this Search there happen to be found
" any ſchiſmatical or offenſive Books,
" they ſhall be brought to the aforeſaid
" Biſhops or the High Commiſſion Of-
" fice, that the Offenders may be puniſh-
" ed. That no Perſon whatſoever ſhall
" print in the Parts beyond Seas, or im-
" port from thence, any Engliſh Books,
" or whereof the greater Part is *Engliſh*,
" whether formerly printed or not; and
" that no Books whatſoever ſhall be re-
" printed, though formerly licenſed,
" without a new Licence firſt obtained,
" upon Pain of the like Cenſure and
" Puniſhment. And that if any Perſon
" whatſoever, that is not an allowed
" Printer, ſhall preſume to ſet up [illegible],
" or ſet and compoſe Letters for the ſame,
" he ſhall be ſet in the Pillory, and
" whipt through the City of *London* *.

* *Ruſhworth*'s Collection, Vol. II. p. 463.

This

This, Sir, was properly, and in the ſtricteſt Senſe, deſtroying the Liberty of the Preſs; it was doing it in the moſt ſevere and effectual Manner; it was not puniſhing the Abuſe of this Liberty, but taking away this Liberty itſelf. Let me congratulate you, Sir, again, that you did not live in thoſe bleſſed Times, when not one of your Six Letters would have been licenſed; when none but a Madman would have committed them to the Examination of theſe *Court Inquiſitors*; and when, perhaps, not one Work that you ever wrote could have been communicated to the Public, without ſubjecting you to Fines and Penalties of a very different Kind from thoſe now laid upon you, and which are ſo dreadful that I tremble to think of them; and of which I ſhall hereafter give you ſome Inſtances.

If you are really acquainted with the Hiſtory of thoſe Times which you ſo highly extol, and prefer to the preſent, you muſt be fully ſenſible that this Law againſt the Liberty of the Preſs, notwithſtanding its Severity, was executed with the utmoſt Rigour by thoſe who made it. They refuſed to licence many Books againſt Popery, nor would they grant a new Licence

cence for re-printing *Fox*'s Book of Martyrs, Biſhop *Jewel*'s Works, and a Number of others.

I cannot forbear quoting a Paſſage from *Milton*'s excellent Speech for the Liberty of unlicenſed Printing. Speaking of the Popiſh Imprimaturs, he obſerves, that "Sometimes five Imprimaturs are ſeen together dialoguewiſe in the Piatza of one "Title-page, complimenting and ducking "each to the other with their ſhaven "Reverences, whether the Author, who "ſtands by in Perplexity at the Foot of "of his Epiſtle, ſhall to the Preſs or "to the Sponge. Theſe are pretty Reſponſaries; theſe are the dear Antiphonies, that ſo bewitched of late "our Prelates and their Chaplains with "the goodly Echo they made; and "beſotted us to the gay Imitation of "a lordly Imprimatur; one from *Lambeth* Houſe, another from the Weſt "End of St. *Paul*'s; ſo apiſhly romanizing, that the Word of Command "was ſtill ſet down in *Latin*, as if "the learned grammatical Pen that "wrote it would caſt no Ink without "*Latin*; or perhaps, as they thought, "becauſe no vulgar Tongue was wor-

"thy

" thy to expreſs the pure Conceit of an " Imprimator; but rather, as I hope, for " that our *Engliſh*, the Language of Men " ever famous and foremoſt in the At- " chievements of Liberty, will not eaſily " find ſervile Letters enow to ſpell ſuch " a dictatory Preſumption engliſhed."

The printing without a Licence was eſteemed a Crime of the greateſt Magnitude. *John Warton* and *John Lilburne*, who afterwards, you know, made a conſiderable Figure by oppoſing even *Cromwell* himſelf, were brought to the *Star-Chamber*, and examined on their printing, contrary to the abovementioned Decree; when refuſing to take an Oath to anſwer all the enſnaring Queſtions that might be aſked them, to make them condemn themſelves, they were ſentenced to go back to the *Fleet* Priſon, and there to remain till they complied with the Orders of the Court; to pay, not Five Pounds, but Five Hundred Pounds each to his Majeſty, and to be bound with Sureties for their good Behaviour. This merciful Court further decreed, that *Lilburne* ſhould be not only pillored, but whipt through the Streets from the *Fleet*

Priſon, to a Pillory placed between *Weſtminſter hall* Gate and the *Star-Chamber*; and after ſtanding in the Pillory, be returned to the *Fleet*, there to remain according to the Decree.

Theſe Puniſhments, fitter for *Ruſſian* Boors, uſed from their Infancy to the Whip, than for *Engliſhmen* who had been trained up under mild Laws, and a gentle Government, were executed with the utmoſt Rigor on *Lilburne*, a Man of a genteel Family, and far above the Vulgar in point of Underſtanding. He was ſmartly whipt from the *Fleet* to *Weſtminſter*, which is at leaſt a full Mile; but what makes me pity him the more, he had, like you, Doctor, an unconquerable Spirit; for while he was undergoing this long and dreadful Flagellation, he uttered many bold Speeches againſt the Tyranny of Biſhops; and while his Head was *in the Hole* of the Pillory, he ſcattered ſeveral Copies of Pamphlets, which he took out of his Pocket, and toſſed among the People. But the Audacity of this Proceeding ſo exaſperated the Court of *Star-Chamber*, which was then ſitting, that they cauſed him to be gagged during the remaining Time

Time he ſtood in the Pillory, and decreed that he ſhould be laid alone, with Irons on his Hands and Legs, in the Wards of the *Fleet*, where the baſeſt and meaneſt Sort of Priſoners were, at that Age confined *.

O *Shebbeare!* happy art thou, that this is not the Reign of *Charles* the Firſt! Thank God that the Times are altered, and that thou liveſt not in the Times thou ſo highly commendeſt; but in that Reign which thou ſo bitterly revileſt.

But this Inſtance, ſhocking as it is, is mild and gentle, in compariſon of others I have to mention, in the ſame admired Reign; and which you, Sir, muſt approve, if you approve the Meaſures of that Adminiſtration, though you yourſelf have the greateſt Reaſon to rejoice, that you are not made the Victim of ſuch Cruelty. The Sufferings of *Leighton*, *Prynne*, *Baſtwick*, and *Burton*, are ſtill read with Horror, by all who have any Senſe of Compaſſion; and ſtand as eternal Monuments of the Inhumanity of the

* Ruſhworth, Vol. II. pag. 466.

Miniſtry of that applauded Reign, and of the Mercy with which you are treated in this.

In the Year 1630, Mr. *Alexander Leighton* was proſecuted in the *Star-Chamber*, for writing a Book, entitled, *An Appeal to the Parliament; or, Sion's Plea againſt Prelacy*, and ſentenced to be committed to the Fleet, not for three Years only, but during Life, unleſs his Majeſty ſhould be graciouſly pleaſed to enlarge him; to pay a Fine, not of ſo trifling a Sum as Five Pounds, but TEN THOUSAND POUNDS, to the King; to be degraded from the Miniſtry; to be brought to the Pillory at *Weſtminſter*, while the Court was ſitting, and there whipt; to be then ſet upon the Pillory for a convenient Space, and have one of his Ears cropt off, and his Noſe ſlit, and be branded in the Face with S. S. for a Sower of Sedition; be then carried to the Priſon of the Fleet, and at ſome other Time to the Pillory in Cheapſide, and be there likewiſe whipt; then ſet upon the Pillory, and have his other Ear cut off; and from thence be carried back to the Priſon of the Fleet, to remain there during Life *. Barbarous as this

* Ruſhworth, Vol. II. p. 56.

Sen-

Sentence was, it was inflicted in all its Rigour, as far as the corporal Puniſhment extended; but, happily for Mr. *Leighton*, that Gentleman who was diſtinguiſhed by his Learning and Abilities, was releaſed by the Long Parliament, from his exorbitant Fine and Impriſonment.

Rejoice, O *Shebbeare!* that thou liveſt in a Reign, in which ſuch Cruelty is unknown. If thou preferreſt ſuch an Adminiſtration as that I have juſt mentioned, to the mild, the gentle Government, under which we live, thy Noſe unſlit, and undeformed; thy Ears, which ſtill remain on thy Head, and thy Back ſtill untorn by cruel Stripes, will witneſs thine Ingratitude.

The next Inſtance I ſhall give for your Conſolation is, that of Mr. *William Prynne*, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf by oppoſing *Cromwell*, and in contributing to the Reſtoration.

This Gentleman was an eminent Lawyer, and like you, Doctor, a very voluminous Author. In the Year 1632, he wrote his *Hiſtrio Maſtix*, which was licenſed

cenſed by Archbiſhop *Abbot*'s Chaplain; but even this Licence could not ſave the Author: for it being againſt Plays, and there being a Reference in the Contents to this Effect, *Women Actors notorious Whores*, relating to ſome Women Actors, mentioned in his Book; it unfortunately happened, that about ſix Weeks after, the Queen acted a Part in a Paſtoral at *Somerſet-houſe*; upon which Archbiſhop *Laud*, and ſome other Prelates, who had been offended at his Works, the very Day after the Queen had acted her Part, ſhewed the Book to the King, and pointed out the Article in the Contents, *Women Actors notorious Whores*, perſuaded the King and Queen that *Prynne* had written the Book againſt her Majeſty and her Paſtoral, though it was publiſhed ſix Weeks before the Paſtoral was acted. Their Majeſties, however, directed nothing againſt him, till *Laud* ſet Dr. *Heylin* to examine his Works, in order to collect all the offenſive Paſſages they contained; and this being done, he was committed Priſoner to the *Tower* on the 1ſt of *February*, 1632-3 †, and on the 17th of *February*,

† Whitlock's Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, page 18.

1633-4, was ſentenced in the *Star-Chamber* to be expelled the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and *Lincoln's Inn*, degraded and diſenabled from the Profeſſion of the Law; fined Five Thouſand Pounds to the King; ordered to ſtand in the Pillory, firſt in *Palace-Yard, Weſtminſter*, and three Days after in *Cheapſide*, in each to loſe an Ear; to have his *Hiſtrio Maſtix* publicly burnt before his Face by the Hand of the Hangman, and to remain in Priſon during Life.

This inhuman Sentence was executed in *May* 1634, and Mr. *Gerrard*, in his Letter to the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, ſays *, that while he ſtood in the Pillory in *Cheapſide*, he was almoſt ſuffocated by his Volumes that were burnt under his Noſe.

Rejoice and be exceeding glad, O *Shebbeare!* no ſuch enormous Sum is demanded of thee; thy Ears are ſafe, and thou art in no Danger of Suffocation by the burning of thy Works; nor will the hard and cruel Fate of this voluminous Writer

* Strafforde's Letters, Vol. I. p. 261.

ever

ever be thine, while a GEORGE ſits on the Throne of *Great Britain!* The Family thou haſt ſo groſſly abuſed, will ever be the Guardians of Liberty, and have too much Goodneſs to trample upon a Worm.

But we have not yet done with Mr. *Prynne*. After this bloody Sentence was executed, he was remitted to Priſon, where, as ſoon as he could procure Pen, Ink, and Paper, he wrote a very ſevere Letter to Archbiſhop *Laud*, on his Sentence in the *Star-Chamber*. This again awakened the Reſentment of that angry Prelate; who again complaining to the King, his Majeſty commanded him to refer it to *Noy*, the Attorney-General. *Noy* ſent for *Prynne*, and demanded whether the Letter was of his Hand-writing or not; but he deſiring to ſee it, like a Man of Spirit tore it to Pieces, and threw the Pieces out of the Window, which for that Time prevented a farther Proſecution *.

He had, however, like you, Sir, the Itch of Writing, and a Talent at finding Fault. In 1635, 1636, and 1637, he

* See Heylin's Life of Archbiſhop Laud.

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publiſhed ſeveral Books, particularly one, entitled, *News from Ipſwich*, in which he reflected very groſly on the Archbiſhop and others of the Biſhops; for which, on the 14th of *June*, 1637, he was ſentenced in the *Star-Chamber* to pay Five Thouſand Pounds to the King, to loſe the Remainder of his Ears in the Pillory, to be branded on both Cheeks with the Letters S. L. for a Schiſmatical Libeller, and to be perpetually impriſoned in *Caernarvon* Caſtle.

Happy, thrice happy, *Shebbeare!* let me repeat again, that from the mild, the humane, and gentle Government under which you live, you have been in no Danger of theſe barbarous and ſavage Severities. Though, like *Prynne*, you have been twice called in queſtion, yet, like him, you have not been twice cropped, your Ears are ſtill unmangled, and thoſe Organs are not, by a ſecond Operation, pared cloſe to your Head. Your Cheeks are in no Danger of being ſcorched and ſeared by the glowing, burning iron; and though they have not bluſhed at extolling thoſe Days of Cruelty, and preferring them to theſe Times, when Mercy

 reigns;

reigns; yet no artificial Bluſh has been raiſed in them by a painful Inflammation. They are ſtill undeformed, you are ſtill unbranded, and no L. I. for Libeller and Incendiary have diſgraced your comely Viſage.

In the Year 1637, *Baſtwick*, a Doctor of Phyſic, having printed a Pamphlet, called, *Flagellum Epiſcoporum Latialium*, in which he reflected on the Biſhops; and alſo a Litany, in purſuit of the ſame Deſign, was brought into the *Star-Chamber*; as was the Reverend Mr. *Henry Burton*, Rector of St. *Matthew*'s, in *Friday-ſtreet*, *London*, for having, on the 5th of *November*, 1636, preached in his own Church two Sermons, publiſhed afterwards under the Title of, *Fear God and the King*. Theſe Gentlemen were cloſely confined, and proceeded againſt in the *Star-Chamber* at the ſame Time with Mr. *Prynne*, juſt mentioned, and jointly drew up an Anſwer; but could get no Counſel to ſign it, through Fear of the Court; and though they petitioned for Liberty in their Counſels Default, to put in their Anſwers under their own Hands, yet they were refuſed; and were alſo denied

the Liberty of exhibiting a Croſs-Bill againſt *Laud* and his Adherents. Thus no legal Anſwer being put in, nor filed on Record, the Court, on the 14th of *June*, 1637, began, for this pretended *Contempt*, to proceed to Sentence; But the Defendants before the Court ſpake, cried out for Juſtice, that their Anſwers might be read, and that they might not be condemned unheard. Nevertheleſs, becauſe their Anſwers were not filed on Record, the Court proceeded to give Sentence. That of *Pryme* has been already mentioned; the two others were alſo fined each in 5000*l.* degraded from their Functions, and Degrees in the Univerſity; ordered to be ſet in the Pillory, and to have both their Ears cut off; to be confined to perpetual cloſe Impriſonment, *Baſtwick* in the Caſtle of *Launceſton*, in *Cornwall*, and *Burton* in the Caſtle of *Lancaſter*; to be debarred the Acceſs of their Wives and Friends, or any other except their Keepers, and denied the Uſe of Pen, Ink and Paper.

This monſtrous Sentence, ſo illegally paſſed, was executed, though Mr *Burton*'s Pariſhioners ſent a Petition to the King

ſigned by ſixty of their Names, to intreat for his Pardon and Liberty; but this was ſo far from having any Weight, that the two Gentlemen who delivered it were committed for their Pains. A few Days after the End of the Term, two Pillories were erected in the *Palace-Yard*, and there the Sentence againſt *Prynne*, *Burton*, and *Baſtwick* was read. They ſtood two Hours in the Pillory, *Burton* by himſelf, who had been degraded three Days before in the High Commiſſion-Court. The Place was full of People who cried and lamented terribly; and what added to their Grief and Horror, the Execution was performed with ſuch Barbarity, and the Rev. Mr. *Burton* was pared ſo cloſe, that the temporal Artery was cut, which made the Blood ſtream in great Abundance upon the Scaffold: And yet he ſhewed ſuch Courage as not to ſhrink at the Pain. Dr. *Baſtwick* was very merry; and told the People, that the Lords had their Collar-Days at Court, and this was his. His Wife, got a Stool, and mounting up kiſſed him; and his Ears being cut off, ſhe called for them, put them into a clean Handkerchief, and carried them away, as the precious Relicks of a Huſband whom

ſhe

ſhe was never to ſee more *. Theſe three unhappy Gentlemen were afterwards removed from the above Places of Confinement, far from their Friends, to the Iſlands of *Jerſey*, *Guernſey*, and *Scilly*: However, they were all ſet at Liberty about three Years after, by an Order of Parliament.

O Doctor! do not your Ears tingle at theſe ſavage Inſtances of Cruelty? Can you avoid ſympathiſing with Men of Reputation and Learning, thus baſely, ignominiouſly, cruelly treated? You alſo have a Wife and Children; how would you bear to be ſentenced never to ſee them more; to be deprived of all ſocial Converſe, and after having your Perſon thus mutilated, to be condemned to languiſh out the Remainder of your Life in the ſolitary Gloom of a Priſon. Happy *Shebbeare!* I congratulate you for living under a Government incapable of Cruelty, and under a Sovereign too good to be actuated by that Reſentment that might have rendered your Life a continued Scene of Miſery. You are happy in living in a Reign where

* Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. Part 2. and Fuller's Church-Hiſtory.

Liberty is enjoyed in its fulleſt Extent by every Briton, and where you yourſelf have experienced to what Lengths the moſt licentious Sallies of the Pen may be carried. The above Writers were all of them Men of Reputation, and were thus ſeverely puniſhed, not for abuſing the Sovereign, and defaming his Adminiſtration; but for laſhing the Biſhops; what then would have been your Puniſhment, had you in that Reign thus inſulted the Crown itſelf; and in your Invectives paid no Regard to Truth or Decency? Had you thus uttered all the Gall of Malice, and all the Venom of impotent Rage? Poor *Shebbeare!* Had that been the Caſe, I ſhould have pitied you; I ſhould have ſympathized in your Tortures, and have joined with your miſerable Wife, your Son and Daughters in lamenting your Sufferings. But rejoice, Sir! and receive Conſolation! Your Puniſhment is light and tranſitory, and you have it ſtill in your Power to be happy.

I ſhall add another Inſtance or two, to ſhew the Severity with which Offenders were treated in that reign. "I remember, ſays *Oſborne*, after *Felton* had given "the fatal Blow to *George* Duke of *Buck-*

"*ingham*,

" *ingham*, one *Savil* *, formerly burnt
" in the Shoulder for a Rogue, (finding
" how acceptable the News was where-
" ever it came) gave out he was the Man
" who did it; and that, tho' an honour-
" able Perſon's Brother, he wanted Mo-
" ney to convey him away; upon which
" he was apprehended, and, though not
" worth a Groat, fined a conſiderable
" Sum in the Star-Chamber; to which
" the Wiſdom, Equity, and Juſtice of
" that Court added (becauſe they wanted
" Power to hang him) this corporal Pu-
" niſhment, *viz.* That he ſhould be
" whipped from the Fleet, where he lay
" Priſoner, to the Pillory in Weſtminſter
" Palace-yard, there to be, for two Hours,
" with his Ears nailed, and after to loſe
" one Ear, have his Noſe ſlit, and then
" to be branded in the Forehead; all
" which, as long as the Bowels of Hu-
" manity would give me Leave, I looked
" upon. Nor was this more than half
" his Puniſhment, as much being to be
" done to him in Cheapſide; but that
" (as I heard) the King, more charitable

* Or, Savage, for ſo he called himſelf; but his true Name was *Heron*.

" than

" than his Judges, did pardon it; though " his perpetual Reſidence in Bridewell " was not remitted, till for another Thing " (ſome thought unlikely to be done in " ſuch a Reſtraint) he was hanged at *Ty-* " *burn* *.

See, O *Shebbeare!* the horrible Puniſhment inflicted for no other Crime but lying; for a ſingle Lye; which however impudent, could hurt Nobody but the Man himſelf. Rejoice then at the Mildneſs of your Fate, for had the preſent wiſe and merciful Adminiſtration behaved with equal Rigour, what would have become of you who have invented and printed a thouſand! Of you, who have never wrote one true Fact without miſrepreſenting it, in order to deceive and inflame the People, againſt the moſt reſpectable Perſonages.

In the ſame glorious and merciful Reign, one *Walker* for libelling his Neighbour, and accuſing him of ſtealing of Wool, was committed to the Fleet during Life, fined a thouſand Pounds, ordered to be ſet in the Pillory twice, at each Time to

* Osborn's Works, pag. 690.

have

have an Ear cut off, and to pay the Plaintiff five hundred Marks Damage *.

And *Bowyer* for ſlandering *Laud* as an Arminian and a Papiſt, was ordered by the Court to be committed to Bridewell, there to be kept to hard Labour during Life, and never ſuffered to go Abroad, fined three thouſand Pounds; to be twice ſet in the Pillory with his Ears nailed to it; to be obliged to confeſs his Offence, and to be branded in the Forehead with the Letters L R. †

Rejoice O *Shebbeare!* I cannot help repeating, rejoice and be exceeding glad, that thou liveſt in a Reign where ſuch Crimes are not puniſhed with the like brutal and more than ſavage Cruelty: Rejoice that tho' thou haſt more baſely defamed and vilified the Father of thy Sovereign, thou art not puniſhed as *Walker* was for ſlandering his Neighbour. Rejoice, that thou who haſt repreſented the Revolution, in Conſequence of which his preſent Majeſty ſits on the Throne,

* Ruſhworth's Collections, Appendix, pag. 60.
† Ibid. p. 65.

as the greateſt Curſe that could befal this Nation, art not puniſhed even as this *Bowyer*, who barely, by his Lips, defamed a reſentful Prelate. No three thouſand Pounds, a much more enormous Sum then, than it is at preſent, is demanded of thee. To the Pillory on which thou haſt been plac'd, thine Ears were not nailed, thy Forehead is unbranded; and thou art not condemned to wear out a wretched Life in beating Hemp in Bridewell. I rejoice with thee, that thou liveſt in a Reign, in which the Sentences inflicted by the Laws are dictated by Mercy and Pity, and not by Cruelty and a mean Revenge. Rejoice that this is the Reign of *George* and not of *Charles*; a Prince of the Houſe of *Hanover*, of that Houſe which thou wickedly termeſt the *Preſbyterian Meſſiah*, and not of the Family of *Stuart*.

The Reign of King *Charles* the Second, was little leſs ſevere with Reſpect to the Sentences paſſed on thoſe who offended the Court. Indeed, inſtead of the ſavage Cuſtom, ſlitting of Noſes, cutting off Ears, branding in the Cheeks or Forehead, and other Inhumanities practiſed upon thoſe who were guilty of the moſt trifling Offences;

fences; the Law was ſtretched to inflict ſtill larger Fines; and on other Occaſions inſtead of torturing the ſuppoſed Criminal by ſuch diſgraceful Sufferings, Pretences were found, for putting him to Death. The Liberty of the Preſs was held in Chains, and the ſmalleſt Exceſs in the Liberty of Speech furniſhed with the utmoſt Rigour.

Mr. *Pilkington*, Sheriff of *London*, when the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen took the Reſolution to wait on the Duke of *York* with their Compliments of Congratulation on his Return from *Scotland*, not only refuſed to give his Attendance, but raſhly ſaid, *The Duke of* York *has fired the City, and is now come to cut our Throats.* Two of his Brother Aldermen, *Hooker* and *Tulſe*, had the Honour of being Witneſſes againſt him; and ſo forward were the Juries now become, ſays Mr. *Echard*, that they found a Verdict for the Plaintiff; and in Defiance of *Magna Charta*, gave no leſs than a hundred thouſand Pounds Damages, which ſhews, that the utter Ruin of this Gentleman and his Family was aimed at; and to prevent it, he was forced to ſurrender himſelf a Priſoner in Ex-

ecution, in Discharge of his Bail, without a Prospect of Redemption.

See, O *Shebbeare!* the Severity used against an Alderman and Sheriff of *London*, for the Crime of barely speaking less than thou hast printed and dispersed all over the Kingdom; in Relation to the Family of your most gracious Sovereign. What could you expect, when the Laws were thus stretched to punish a Magistrate of this Metropolis in so rigorous a Manner? Rejoice, O rejoice, that you are not fined in so enormous a Sum, as would for ever exclude you the Rules of the King's Bench; deprive you of the Pleasure of breathing the fresh Air of St. *George's* Fields, and oblige you to end your Days within the Walls of that Prison. Rejoice and receive Consolation; for this is one of the Blessings you receive from the Revolution, which you have painted or rather daubed with such odious Colours.

. . . . . .

It would be unpardonable should I here omit, as a Motive to Consolation, the Treatment *Algernon Sidney*, the second Son of the Earl of *Leicester*, met with in the same

ſame Reign. This great Man was arraigned for High-Treaſon at the King's-Bench Bar on the 7th of *November*, 1683, by the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jeffreys*. Sir *John Hawkins* obſerves *, that when he came into the Hall, the Indictment was ſo far from being found by the Grand-Jury, that it was not ſo much as preſented to them; but the King's Council who had packed the Jury, knew well enough, that it would be accepted, that is found upon Sight by the Jury, without any Conſideration, which was accordingly done. The Indictment was for deſigning to oppoſe the King, and perſuading the King's Subjects to rebel; and writing a certain Libel, wherein it was contained, that he (meaning King *Charles* the Second) is ſubject to the Laws of God as he is a Man, and to the People who made him, as he is, a King. To this Indictment he would have put in ſome Exceptions expreſſed in a Parchment in his Hand, but this was refuſed. On the 21ſt of *November* he was tried, at which Time he inſiſted on his having a Copy of his Indictment, as he

* Remarks upon the Tryal of Edward Fitzharris, Stephen College, &c. Edit. 1686. pag. 76.

had

had done when he was arraigned; but was both Times denied; as was alſo his deſire of having the Benefit of Council, and the Jury being called over, he excepted to ſeveral for not being Freeholders; but this Exception was alſo over-ruled. The Witneſſes brought to prove him guilty of deſigning to oppoſe the King, had, all but one, nothing to alledge but Hearſay, and yet their pretended Evidence was ſummed up and urged with the baſeſt Invectives, as Evidence to the Jury; and the only Evidence brought to the Fact, was the Lord Howard, who had been guilty of ſeveral Treaſons, and had not been pardoned, who owed him a conſiderable Sum upon a Mortgage, which Debt Col. Sidney alledged might probably be cancelled by his Conviction, and to invalidate his Evidence, that Gentleman brought ſeveral noble Witneſſes to prove, that his Lordſhip had not only denied his knowing any Thing of any ſuch Plot; but had ſometime after confeſſed, that *he could not get his Pardon, until he had done ſome other Jobs*, and *till he had paſſed through the Drudgery of Swearing*. As to the Manuſcript, upon which great Streſs was laid, it was not publiſhed; but only found in his

his Cloſet, and this was the firſt Indictment of High Treaſon upon which any Man loſt his Life for writing any Thing without publiſhing it. It had no Relation to King *Charles* II. The Words in the Indictment were even unfairly quoted, and it was not even proved that he wrote it, but only that the Writing was like his Hand; yet from this Manuſcript, which was a part of his excellent Diſcourſes on Government now univerſally admired; and from the Teſtimony of only one Witneſs, and that a Man of no Principles, was the great, and the brave *Algernon Sidney*, ſentenced to die by a packed Jury, and his Head was cut off on the 7th of *December* 1683, when about 66 Years of Age.

Bluſh, O *Britain*, and be aſtoniſhed, O ye Judges of the Earth! how have they who ſat in the Seat of Judgment trampled on the Laws and deſpiſed Juſtice! Innocence and Truth hung down their Heads, and Virtue afforded no Protection to the Righteous.

Think O *Shebbeare!* for a Moment what would have been thy Fate, hadſt thou had

had such a Judge and such a Jury! Dost thou regret that this is not the Reign of a King like *Charles* the Second? Had that been the Case, thou mightest long ere this have been dragged on a Sledge from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and thy Quarters might now have—I will not name it—May our Gates never be loaded with such Ornaments; but may we have always Judges like mine, who mingle Mercy with Justice, and strive to reform rather than to punish.

It would be a tedious and an irksome Task for me to run through all the Instances of Cruelty and Injustice practised in that Reign under the Form of Law, in which the Liberty of the Press, or the Liberty of the Subject were invaded in such a Manner as to disgrace our Annals.

I now come Sir! to the Reign of a King for whom you seem to have a peculiar Esteem, and to regret that his Son does not now sway the *British* Sceptre. You will here also see that Virtue and Innocence afforded no Protection, and that

the moſt trifling Offence given to the Court was puniſhed with Death.

In the Year 1685, one Mrs. *Gaunt*, a Woman of great Piety, Virtue and Humanity, had in the Reign of *Charles* II. given great Offence by being perpetually employed in Acts of Charity and Goodneſs to ſuch as fell under the Reſentment of the Government, and therefore was now, in the Reign of *James* the Second, capitally indicted for compaſſing the Death of the late King, by harbouring, concealing, aiding, comforting, *&c.* one *Burton* who aſſerted that he had been concerned in the Rye-houſe Plot, knowing him to be a Traytor. *Burton* himſelf was produced as a Witneſs againſt her, and ſwore ſhe had twice procured him a Veſſel to make his Eſcape, and had given him Money to help to bear his Charges: *Burton*'s Wife and Daughter were the other Witneſſes; but neither of them could be brought to ſwear, that the Priſoner knew *Burton* was in any Plot, or even that his Name was in any Proclamation: Nor did it appear, that ſhe had ever harboured him, or given him Meat and Drink as the Indictment alledged.

ledged. She was however found guilty, and received Sentence to be burnt alive; which was executed accordingly; and this ſhe underwent with a Reſignation, Chearfulneſs, and even Magnanimity, that amazed her very Enemies.

O *Shebbeare!* if thou haſt the Senſibilities a Man, lament this unhappy Woman, burnt alive for affording Aſſiſtance to a Man in Diſtreſs! Is this one of the Reigns thou admireſt, and preferreſt to the preſent; a Reign in which it was a Crime to be virtuous, humane, and charitable? O rejoice that thou haſt not offended ſuch a Prince, and ſuch Judges; if thou hadſt, thou would have ſome Years ago died by an ignominious and horrid Execution, and I ſhould not have now the Pleaſure of writing thee this friendly Letter of Conſolation.

To this above Inſtance let me, Sir, add that of the Lady *Liſle*, who was indited for harbouring Mr. *John Hicks*, a Nonconformiſt Miniſter, who had beſought her Protection, which ſhe generouſly

nerouſly granted. There was not the leaſt Proof upon the Trial that ſhe knew of his having ſerved under *Monmouth*, and the Lady herſelf aſſured the Court that ſhe did not. However, though a Woman, and unverſed in the Laws, ſhe was allowed no Council, and Judge *Jeffreys* ſentenced her to be hanged; after which, the King was ſo obdurate, that when petitioned to reſpite her Execution but only four Days, he abſolutely refuſed to reſpite it for one, though he condeſcended to change her Sentence from that of hanging to beheading. This Lady was upwards of ſeventy Years of Age, and her Behaviour at her Death was worthy the Innocence and Piety of her Life.

You ſee, Sir, how Virtue and Humanity were, in this Reign, capitally puniſhed! and if you have the ſmalleſt Portion of theſe Accompliſhments, —Accompliſhments which are abſolutely neceſſary to form the Character of a Patriot, and even of an honeſt Man, let me perſuade you no longer to preach up the Family of the *Stuarts*,

but to obey the Calls of Virtue, Humanity, and Gratitude, and to wiſh well to a Family that has treated you, though guilty, better than your once favourite Kings treated the Innocent and Virtuous, even of the Fair Sex, who happened to offend them.

I ſhall paſs over the reſt of the vaſt Multitude of the other Cruelties practiſed by *Jeffreys*, as well as the ſcandalous Trial, Condemnation, and Execution of Mr. *Corniſh*, one who had been an Alderman and Sheriff of this Metropolis; but had been illegally turned out of his Office by the late King; and ſhall conclude this Account of the Sufferings under the Reigns of the *Stuarts*, with a Caſe that perhaps comes nearer your own, for the Sufferer was an Author.

The Reverend Mr. *Johnſon*, who had been Chaplain to the unhappy Lord *Ruſſel* about the Year 1686, publiſhed an Humble and Hearty Addreſs to all the *Engliſh* Proteſtants in the Army, not to make themſelves the Tools of the Papiſts, to enſlave their Country, and

and ſubvert their Religion. Upon which the Court having diſcovered the Author, proſecuted him in the King's Bench; and being convicted, this reverend Clergyman was, for this Offence, ſentenced to ſtand three Times in the Pillory, and to be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; which barbarous Sentence was aggravated (as was uſual in that Reign) by the Inſults and Reproaches of him who pronounced it. An Attempt was made to get the whipping Part of the Sentence remitted, by an Offer of two hundred Pounds to a Popiſh Prieſt, the moſt proper Advocate to addreſs the Tyrant; but even the Prieſt could not prevail, for *James* anſwered, That ſince Mr. *Johnſon* had the Spirit of Martyrdom in him, it was fit he ſhould ſuffer: And indeed no Martyr ever ſuffered with greater Fortitude; for we are told, in his Life prefixed to his Works, that, under the Agony of Three Hundred and Seventeen Laſhes with a Cat-o'-nine-Tails, he was ſo far from fainting, that had he not thought it would have looked like Vain-glory, he could have ſung a Pſalm with as much Com-

Compoſure and Chearfulneſs, as ever he had done in the Church.

O *Shebbeare*, if thou haſt the leaſt Spark of Gratitude, the leaſt Love of Liberty lurking in any ſecret Corner of thine Heart; the ſmalleſt Grain of that generous and noble Spirit, which fills the Breaſt of every honeſt and brave *Briton*, canſt thou read theſe numerous Inſtances of the Baſeneſs, the Cruelty, the Tyranny of the Princes, whoſe Reigns thou has preferred to that of the auguſt Prince who ſits on the Throne, without feeling thy Boſom ſwell with Indignation and Shame at thy paſt Conduct; and without acknowledging the Lenity of thy Sentence, and rejoicing in the Happineſs thou may'ſt ſtill enjoy under a King, whoſe Acts of Juſtice partake of the Tenderneſs of a Father.

From Murder, diſguiſed under the Form of Law; and from the moſt cruel Sufferings inflicted under its Sanctions, we were delivered by King *William* the Third, at whoſe Acceſſion the Liberty of the Preſs, and all the other

other Rights of the Subject, were eſtabliſhed upon a firmer Foundation than they had ever reſted upon before. To that Prince we originally owe theſe ineſtimable Bleſſings, and to him whom you have baſely repreſented as the vileſt Monſter, and have even conſigned to Damnation, you yourſelf *originally* owe the Privilege you have enjoyed of ſo long writing with Impunity, and of your now being under ſo mild and gentle a Sentence. The Tenderneſs that has been ſhewn you is immediately owing to the Moderation and Compaſſion of the Houſe of *Hanover*, which you call the *Preſbyterian Meſſiah*; and to the gracious Government of his preſent Majeſty, who, during ſo long a Reign, has never encroached on the Liberties of his People; to his preſent Majeſty, whoſe brave and royal Father you have vilely repreſented as a Tyrant, as a perfidious and ungrateful Monſter, you owe the Bleſſing of having no other Puniſhment for your Crimes, but that of being fined the inconſiderable Sum of five Pounds, of ſtanding in the Pillory at *Charing-Croſs*, of being impriſoned in the King's Bench three

three Years, and of giving Security for your good Behaviour for ſeven Years, yourſelf in a Bond of Five Hundred Pounds, and two Sureties in no more than Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds each. That it is no worſe with you ought to be the Subject of your Joy and Gratitude.

You, Sir, obſerve, that "What Evils "a *Stuart* on the Throne of *England* "would have produced, can be but a "ſpeculative Conſideration at preſent; "however, it may be perfectly diſ- "cerned what are the Bleſſings which "come with a North-Eaſt Wind from "*Germany*, and the Effects of them were "never more conſpicuous than at this "unparalleled Moment *." The Evils that would have followed by having a *Stuart* Family on the Trone, are however very evident; and you have Reaſon to believe, from the conſtant Practice of that Family, with Regard to Offenders like you, ſome of thoſe Evils might now have rendered you in a moſt miſerable Situation; and of the

* The Sixth Letter to the People of *England*, p. 38.

Bleſſings

Bleſſings brought by the North-Eaſt Wind, you yourſelf now feel the Effects. Rejoice then in theſe Bleſſings, and in an Event that has ſo viſibly preſerved you from the loweſt Degree of Miſery, if not from Death.

But I would not purſue this Subject too far. I will not ſuppoſe you have not one Spark of Honour; and if you have, your Gratitude to the preſent Government will teach you how to act: and let me tell you, from Experience, that Gratitude is one of the moſt pleaſing Senſations of the human Mind.

As to your paſt Conduct: You are ſenſible, I am perſuaded, that the Man who has oppoſed the Meaſures of the Court, has always aſſumed the Name of a Patriot; and that you have not been the firſt who has adorned himſelf with this glorious Title, by defaming and oppoſing the moſt ſalutary Meaſures, and ſuch as moſt evidently tended to the Honour and Happineſs of the Community.

You have not been the firſt, who, for Want of Facts, have invented ſuch as

are moſt adapted to exaſperate a free People; and that, by reaſoning upon theſe ſelf-born Chimeras, have endeavoured to ſcatter about the Seeds of Sedition, and to raiſe a general Spirit of Diſcontent.

You are not the firſt that has perverted and miſrepreſented Hiſtory, and diſguiſed known Events in ſuch a Manner, that they have no more Relation to Truth, than if they ſprung originally from your own Brain, and were originally the Offspring of Falſhood.

You are not the firſt of thoſe who, to ſhew their Love for their Country, have abuſed all Ranks and Orders of Men; who have thrown Calumny out at Random, and treated crowned Heads, and even their own Sovereign, in groſſer Terms than they would dare to treat a good luſty Porter.

If, therefore, you have no Ingenuity of Mind, your not being ſingular may afford you ſome Conſolation.

Though many of your Principles have been found fallacious, and Experience has

has all along ſhewn, that but little, I ſhonld rather ſay, no Regard is to be paid to your Arguments; yet you have as much Right to maintain, propagate, and perſiſt in your Opinions, as any other Man who aſſerts, with equal Aſſurance, what is contradicted by all Hiſtory, and by daily Experience.

The brave King of *Pruſſia*, who in one of your Letters, (I think it is the fourth) you repreſent as a little inſignifican Prince, unworthy of our Alliance, has ever ſince triumphed over the united Force of the three greateſt Powers of *Europe*, aſſiſted by the *Swedes*.

Our throwing off all Connection with what you infamouſly call, in your ſixth Letter, inſatiate *Germans*, and *H——n* Harpies, and joining with *France*, is a Propoſal ſo repugnant to the Dictates of Common Senſe, that there is not a School-boy that can read, who would not laugh at the Abſurdity of the Propoſal. And this Nation, which in every one of your Letters you have repreſented as mortgaged to *H——r*, involved in the moſt diſmal Calamities, by the preſent

Royal Family, and on the Brink, if not already in the Gulph, of Ruin; this Nation, I ſay, which you have ſo baſely defamed, is ſtill a brave, a flouriſhing, a happy, and a free People. Thanks to the Divine Providence, and the vigorous and ſteady Meaſures taken by his Majeſty and the preſent Miniſtry, we have triumphed over *France* in the moſt effectual Manner; and, by ruining her Navy, taking *Cape Breton*, the Iſland of St. *John*, and becoming Maſters of the River *Senegal*, in *Africa*, have raiſed our Commerce to a greater Height than ever was known in former Ages. In ſhort, his Majeſty, whoſe Connections with theſe Kingdoms, you with ſuch Aſſurance condemn, is ſtill, in ſpite of all your Efforts, beloved and admired by his grateful and affectionate People.

You ſee, therefore, by theſe few Inſtances, the little Effect your Letters have had, and many more I might eaſily mention; therefore in caſe you ſhould repent of having written theſe Pieces, and of the innumerable Falſhoods they contain, you need not afflict yourſelf too much from your Apprehenſion of the Miſchief they have done. This, I

A

DEFENCE

OF THE CONDUCT

OF THE

WARDEN

OF WINCHESTER COLLEGE

In accepting of that WARDENSHIP.

OCCASIONED

By a LETTER to the Rev. Dr. LOWTH,

And Written by HIMSELF.

LONDON:

Printed for R. and J. DODSLEY in Pall Mall and sold by M. COOPER in *Pater-noster-Row.*

M.DCC.LVIII.

[Price One Shilling.]

A

DEFENCE

OF THE CONDUCT

OF THE

WARDEN

OF WINCHESTER COLLEGE.

SINCE I find myſelf cenſured, with great Liberty, by the Author, whoever he be, of a late Letter to Dr. Lowth, for accepting of the Wardenſhip of this College, when freely offered me, on the laſt vacancy, by the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter; in conſequence of a Devoluſion, made to his Lordſhip, of the Right of appointing a

Warden for that turn, by the Election of the Warden of New-College to it: and ſince there is no Teſt, whereby to decide of ſuch Conduct, whether it be right or wrong, but the Statutes which relate to the occaſion of it: in Juſtice to myſelf, and leſt miſreports of my Character, uncontradicted, ſhould be productive of ill Effects; eſpecially among the Youth, whoſe Education I inſpect, the preſervation of whoſe Eſteem is the chief Inſtrument, by which I am enabled to do them Service, and, in ſerving Them, to ſerve the Community; I hope, for once, I may be excuſed at leaſt, if I produce, and explain, ſuch Paſſages of thoſe Statutes, as ſhall be neceſſary to my Vindication in this reſpect; that, when they are rightly ſtated and underſtood, and My Conduct, as to this particular, compared with them, it may, with the greater certainty of Judgement, if found to be agreeable to them, be abſolved, and, if diſagreeable, condemned.

Statutes, in general, being nothing more than Expreſſions of the Founder's Will, in Enquiries into their Meaning, the Principal thing to be regarded is the Founder's *Intent* in compoſing them; the *noſtræ Intentionis* pro-

propoſitum, ſo much inſiſted on by the Founder of the two above-mentioned Colleges.

This Intent is either *General* or *Special*: The General is that of the whole Frame of Statutes taken together, and conſidered as a Syſtem of Polity: The Special, that of each Statute, in particular. The Latter of which muſt always be ſuppoſed to conſiſt and harmonize with the Former. And therefore the Interpretation given of particular Statutes muſt be ſuch, as conſpires with the general Purpoſe and Deſign of the whole Body. To ſuppoſe otherwiſe were to ſuppoſe the Founder to be at variance with Himſelf.

This premiſed, I enter upon my Deſign of inquiring, what the Statutes of Wincheſter College preſcribe in regard to the Election of a Warden of that College. And I find, upon Search, but one amongſt them, which directly and profeſſedly treats of that Subject: and in That, only a ſingle Paſſage, which determines the Order or Claſs of Perſons, out of which ſuch Warden is to be elected.

The Paſſage I mean occurs under the ſixth Rubrick, and it runs thus,—"*Unum de ipſis Scrutatoribus, vel de aliis Sociis de ipſo noſtro Collegio Oxoniæ, ſeu de Sociis Preſbyteris Collegii noſtri prope Wintoniam, aut de illis qui aliquando fuerunt in ipſo Collegio noſtro Oxoniæ, ſeu Collegio prope Wintoniam, Socii, & ex cauſis licitis et honeſtis receſſerunt.*" — ſc. *ab ipſa* (for the Expreſſion is elliptical) or, as it is afterwards ſupplied in the ſame Statute ſpeaking of the ſame Subject, *ab eodem*; referring to *Collegio*.

The Purport of which Paſſage I apprehend to be, that the Perſon to be choſen Warden of Wincheſter College, upon a Vacancy in that Poſt, is required to be "either one of the Scrutators or other Fellows of New-College, or one of the Fellows of Wincheſter College; or elſe one, who hath formerly been a Fellow of one or other of theſe Colleges, but hath left the College, to which he belonged, upon lawful and reputable Reaſons, or, if you pleaſe, with a fair Character."

There is but One Order of Collegiate Perſons mentioned in this Deſcription, which is

that

that of *Fellows*: but this, however, under three Diſtinctions,

I. Fellows of New-College:

II. Fellows of Wincheſter College: and

III. Such Perſons as *have been*, formerly, Fellows of one or other of the ſaid Colleges, but have *left* the College to which they belonged, and that with a good Character.

Theſe are all the Sorts of Perſons capacitated by this Statute to be elected Wardens of Wincheſter College.

And Where, I aſk, amongſt them all, is the Warden of New-College to be found? He is not in any part, as I perceive, inſerted, by the name either of his Office, or of any Claſs, which may include him. And here, indeed, it is allowed me, for it cannot be denied, that his Name doth not appear: but then it is inſiſted on, that there is, in this Paſſage, a Claſs of Perſons diſtinctly mentioned, under which he both *may* and *ought* to be ranked as an Individual.

Whether there be or not, we ſhall probably ſoon diſcover. In paſſing, I cannot but remark, that, ſo ſingular a Character, as the Warden of New-College, in virtue of his Station, ſupports; being placed by the Founder on the higheſt point of Eminence in both his Societies, inveſted with ſo many and ſuch conſiderable Priviledges, and treated with ſo much reſpect in the different parts of the Statutes; being never, as I ſuppoſe, omitted, where it might be expected he ſhould be concerned, nor ever named amongſt others but with Precedence; it is highly probable, that the Founder, had he ever intended to give him the Claim that is now in diſpute, would not only have included him under ſome general Expreſſion, but have done him the honour likewiſe of a diſtinct and particular mention. For ſo much regard as this, I obſerve, he hath actually paid to the Pretenſions of inferior Claimants. By them I mean the Scrutators; who, beſides being comprehended under the Name of Fellows, are likewiſe mentioned by that of Scrutators; leſt, as it ſhould ſeem, even ſo ſmall a diſtinction as That Employment gives them, during the time of an Election, beyond the reſt of the Fellows, might, at ſo critical

critical a Seaſon, by a perverſe Mind, be interpreted to their Diſadvantage. Nay, it is not only probable, that the Founder would, in *any* Caſe, have been equally ſollicitous to ſecure the Rights of the Warden as thoſe of any of the Fellows, but that in *this* caſe he would even have enlarged them *beyond* thoſe of the Fellows, by giving him his Choice firſt; a Preference, for which they would have thought themſelves ſufficiently recompenced by the Chance it would have given ſome one amongſt them, in caſe He ſhould move, of being advanced into his Place. This is but ſuitable to the ſuperiour Regard and Pre-eminence, with which the Founder in his Statutes diſtinguiſhes the Warden. See a ſubſtantial Example of it under the 38th Rubrick of thoſe of New-College. And ſo much, therefore, as This, it is not unlikely, he would have done in his favour; at leaſt it is much more likely, than that he ſhould have paſſed him over in Silence, had he conſidered the Headſhip of Wincheſter College as an Object deſireable by him, and at the ſame time approved of his being elected to it. On the other hand, had he conſidered it, as the State of it then required he ſhould, in a Light the very reverſe of this; as a thing utterly

utterly ineligible by the Warden of New-College, and by no means worthy his acceptance; ſince, in order to take it, he muſt give up a Poſt of ſuperiour Dignity, Power and Emolument; and yet, for reaſons which eſcape my diſcernment, had he ſtill reſolved, that he ſhould be tranſlated, or made capable at leaſt of being tranſlated, to it, it is ſcarce to be imagined, as I ſhould think, but that he would have expreſſed his pleaſure to this purpoſe in ſome very ſignificant manner: and eſpecially, had he preferred his removal to Windheſter to his continuance at New-College, it is not to be doubted, but he would have iſſued out a Command to him, or at leaſt a ſtrong and preſſing Intreaty, that he would conſent to be ſo degraded: a bare permiſſion, though ever ſo clear, not being likely, in ſuch circumſtances, to have proved extremely operative: and that ſuch circumſtances would change to the contrary was not in human power to foreſee. Thus, upon either Suppoſition, had it really been the Founder's Intention to have allowed of the Warden of New-College as a proper Perſon to be elected; it is far more probable, that he would have explained ſuch intention in the cleareſt terms he could invent,

and

and by a direct and particular mention of him, than that he would have left it to be collected from more general expreſſions, or from yet more obſcure intimations. Which I point out only as a reaſonable prejudice in diſfavour of all ſuch Arguments as tend to introduce the Warden by *implication*: and ſo far certainly it ought to operate, as to prevent ſuch Arguments from being haſtily admitted, or before their real force hath been accurately tried and diſcovered.

With this Preſumption I proceed thus on my Deſign.

If the Warden of New-College be included in the Clauſe of the Statute above-cited by *implication*, it muſt be under one or other of the Branches of That Diviſion, which I have above given of it; theſe containing, as far as I can judge, the whole Senſe of the ſaid Clauſe. Now Which is it of theſe Branches that comprehends the Warden of New-College?

Certainly not the Firſt. He cannot be Warden and Fellow too. For the Warden is diſtinguiſhed by the Statute from the Fellows,

lows, and made Superiour to them all. And if He were reckoned a Fellow, the Number of Fellows and Scholars together would exceed That which is limited by the Statute.

Neither the Second. He cannot be a Member of both Colleges at once. For then the Number of different Perſons aſſigned to both Colleges, taken together, would be incompleat.

No, nor yet, as I apprehend, the Third. For though he be not a Fellow, as without doubt he *hath* been, in the one or the other, of theſe Colleges, yet, *as Warden*, he muſt be *of* the College, that is, a Part or Member of it; and whilſt a Man is *of* the College, how it can be true of him, that he hath, at the ſame time, *left* it, exceeds, I own, my Capacity to comprehend.

As to the two firſt of theſe Aſſertions, there is not, that I know of, any Diſpute. Nor need there be in regard to the Third, if I have ſtated the Third Member of my Diviſion rightly, that is, given it its true Senſe. And, as this is a Point of chief importance,

I ſhall

I ſhall endeavour to ſatisfy my Reader upon it fully.

The Words in which it is expreſſed in the Original are theſe. —— *Aut de illis, qui aliquando fuerunt in ipſo Collegio noſtro Oxoniæ, ſeu Collegio prope Wintoniam, Socii, et ex cauſis licitis et honeſtis receſſerunt* —— which laſt Word *receſſerunt* being elliptical, as I before noted, muſt have its Senſe ſupplied by underſtanding *inde*, or *ab ipſo* ſuggeſted by the *ipſo* foregoing, or *ab eodem*, as it is afterwards in the ſame Statute actually ſupplied, referring to *Collegio* before-mentioned.

There are but Two different Ways in which theſe Words are capable of being rendered.

One is more litteral, thus, "or out of thoſe, who have formerly been in our College at Oxford, or the College near Wincheſter, Fellows, and for reaſons lawful and honeſt have departed" *thence*, *from it*, *from the ſame*, or ſomething to that effect, meaning, from their reſpective College.

Now becauſe a Man's being *in* or *of* one of theſe Colleges, is *one* Conſideration, and his

his being a *Fellow* in or of it, as opposed to his being a Scholar, Chaplain, or any other Member, is *another*; and this Circumstance is distinctly marked in this way of interpreting, therefore may this way be called *Sensu diviso*, the force of which may be expressed thus,

"Those who have formerly been Members of one or other of these Colleges; and not only Members, but Fellows; and have left their respective Colleges with a good reputation."

The other way of rendering departs a little from the Letter, and may be said to be *Sensu composito*, as in it these two Considerations are not so formally distinguished. It may be represented thus, "Those, who have been Fellows in one or other of these Colleges, and have left their respective Colleges with a good reputation."

As to the Point in debate, there is no material Difference, at bottom, between these two ways of interpreting. And any one may take which of them he likes best for me. But artful Men, I observe, usually prefer the Latter, for the greater Convenience,

nience, I ſuppoſe, that it yields them, by huddling things more together, of withdrawing the word *College*, upon certain occaſions, and ſlipping in the word *Fellowſhip* in its room; that ſo, inſtead of, "Thoſe who have been Fellows in one or other of theſe Colleges, and have left their reſpective *College* with a good reputation," the Sentence may run thus; "Thoſe who have been Fellows of one or other of theſe Colleges, and have left their reſpective *Fellowſhip* with a good reputation."

But alas! What will it avail us, towards keeping our Colleges, that we are willing to part with our Fellowſhips, if there be no way left us of parting with our Fellowſhips, but by quitting our Colleges to do it! Whether there *be* any other way, in the Caſe we are now examining, will beſt appear when we ſhall have ſettled, in a more diſtinct manner, the Senſe of the Phraſe, *receſſerunt à Collegio*.

To take the Words, which compoſe it, ſeparately.

Collegium ſignifies, as I conceive, "a Company of Perſons, incorporated into one Society,

Society, conſidered in their collective capacity." The Founder, ſpeaking of his own Colleges, defines them both to be ſuch. See the firſt Rubrick of each Body of Statutes, under which he reckons up the ſeveral Members, which compoſe each College, and declares each College reſpectively to conſiſt of thoſe Members: So that, according to Him, the word *Collegium*, taken properly, *always* means The Society, (then ſpoken of, whichever it be) the Whole Society, or Body Corporate, conſiſting of Warden, Fellows, Scholars, and the reſt of the Members, of their ſeveral Ranks and Denominations, taken collectively.

But, as moſt other Words, ſo This, hath a figurative, as well as proper Senſe; and by an eaſy Metonymy, may be uſed, and *is* ſometimes uſed, for the Building, or Manſion-houſe, wherein this Society is ſuppoſed to reſide. And though theſe Senſes are different, they are very conſiſtent; and there is, ordinarily, no danger of confounding them. The adjuncts commonly ſhew, in any particular paſſage, which of the two is meant. In that under conſideration mention is made of *Fellows* of the College. Now as *Fellows* are no parts of the Building, but only of the Society,

Society, Common Senſe declares, that *à Collegio*, in the Phraſe we are ſpeaking of, muſt ſignify, *from the Society*.

Recedere, as every one knows, is, to *leave*, or *depart from*, whatever the thing left, or departed from, be.

Joyn theſe, and *Recedere à Collegio* muſt mean, to *leave*, or *depart* from, the *Society*. *Receſſerunt à Collegio*, therefore, muſt expreſs the Condition of ſuch Perſons as have left the Society. A Child of the loweſt Claſs at School is able to prove this.

Now in what Senſe can a Member of any Society be ſaid to have left that Society, but by having ceaſed to be a Member of it? The mere having changed his place within it, in paſſing from one Station to another, from a Scholarſhip, for example, to a Fellowſhip, from a Fellowſhip to the Headſhip, or the like, is by no means the having left it; nor is it ever called ſo in the Statutes, nor indeed can be ſo called with the leaſt propriety. Nothing leſs than a compleat detachment from the Body, ſo as no longer to retain any Union with it, will come up to the Import

of this Phraſe, uſed abſolutely and without any limitation, as it is in this Statute. But This, indeed, will; and it is the Common Phraſe made uſe of in the Statutes, whereby to expreſs this very Caſe.

Whichſoever therefore of the above Ways of Interpretation be admitted, it comes to juſt the ſame thing in the End. The Perſon eligible, according to either of them, muſt be one who hath left, or intirely quitted, the Society.

Now it is certain that the Warden of New-College is, as Such, a Member of that College; not indeed, as this word is ſometimes uſed, in oppoſition to the Head, but as it ſignifies an integral Part only. He is reckoned and declared to be ſuch by the Founder, under the firſt and ninth Rubricks of the Statutes of that College: indeed, the Principal, moſt eſſential and neceſſary Member of all. He cannot therefore, if we ſpeak ſeriouſly, ingenuouſly, and pertinently to the Purport of this Statute, be ſaid, whilſt he preſides in it, to have left the Society. And what ſhews this beyond Contradiction, is, that, in the Statutes of New-College, The

Founder frequently ſpeaks of him as of one *ſtill* capable of receding from the College, and, conſequently, as *not* having *yet* receded from it in the true Senſe of the Statute. See Rubr. 11. 39. 66.

Therefore, neither falls he within *This* Branch of the Diviſion above-given, under which alone, he is ſaid to be comprehended. Conſequently, He is not within this Statute *by implication*. It is confeſſed, He is not ſo by *Expreſs Mention*. Thence I conclude, that He is not within it *at all*. The Founder hath entirely paſſed him over, and never offered him, in *any* manner, to the Choice of the Electors.

I ſhall be ſaid, here, to have made my Concluſion too extenſive. There *may be* Wardens of New-College, and certainly *have been*, though (which ſhelters Me from the force of the Objection) it is not the Caſe of the preſent Gentleman, who have been called from *abroad* to be made Wardens there, having before left the Society, and continued, it may be, for ſome time, no Members of it. Of theſe may it not with truth be ſaid, that *à Collegio receſſerunt*?

Whatever be determined in the Caſe of Others, Theſe ſurely may be allowed to paſs for properly qualified in this reſpect.

This is plauſible, but not ſolid. The having left the College, in the Caſe of one, who is ſince returned to it and re-admitted, is Proof only, that he *hath been* qualified, not, that he *is* qualified *ſtill*: Whereas, the Intent of the Statute was to preſcribe the Qualifications to be found in the Perſon to be elected at *the very Time* of his Election, not thoſe which he might have been poſſeſſed of at ſome former Period of his Life. During the time that his Receſs laſted, undoubtedly he had a Title to plead that Receſs, in order to obtain any Advantages that might reſult from it; but when the Receſs *itſelf* was *over*, how any Right, founded *on* it, ſhould not alſo have expired *with* it, is what, I acknowledge, I do not underſtand.

May we not then diſtinguiſh, it will be aſked, between the *Act* of *receding*, and the *State* of *receſs*; and, if occaſion be, confine the Word *receſſerunt* to the ſignifying the firſt of theſe only, and not the laſt? I anſwer, if the Founder hath ſo diſtinguiſhed

tinguiſhed and ſo limited the Signification of this Word, others undoubtedly may follow his Example: but without ſuch Authority, I cannot ſay I ſhould adviſe ſuch Procedure. The Word, left to itſelf, ſignifies both the Act, and the State into which a Perſon is brought by that Act. Thus much indeed is true, that it cannot ever ſignify the Act alone, without the State, becauſe the Act is nothing elſe but a Man's putting himſelf into the State. But it *may* very well, and, when the Caſe happens, it *muſt*, ſignify the State without the Act; as when a Man comes into ſuch a State, but not by his own Act; for example, when in conſequence of ſome other Act of his own, ſome Offence that he hath committed, he is expelled by the Act of the Society or governing Part of it; when his Fellowſhip expires without his reſigning it: In theſe, and the like Caſes, *receſſit* is the Word uſed concerning him; though, if you go to diſtinguiſhing, nothing more is meant by it, than that he *is now* in the State expreſſed by that Word, a State of Separation from the Society. In ſupport of this, I appeal to the Statutes of Winchoſter College, Rub. 3d. which treats of the Election of Scholars into that College;

and ſays, they are to be admitted into it *loco Scholarium ad Collegium noſtrum Oxoniæ mitendorum, ſeu in Collegio noſtro propè Wintoniam decedentium, ſeu aliàs recedentium ab eodem*—where the *aliàs* ſhews that the being tranſmitted to Oxford, (or *Sped*, as we call it) and the dying within the College, though no *Acts* of the *Perſons* receding, are, yet, reckoned among the *Ways* of receding, that is, of making Vacancies. And if this Senſe of the Word *aliàs* be not admitted, yet it muſt at leaſt be allowed, that *recedentium* here includes all *other* ways of departing from the College except thoſe by Death and Tranſmiſſion, and That will extend to a ſufficient Variety. In the caſe of Expulſion 'tis expreſsly uſed in the 67th of the Statutes of New-College. And what further ſhews that the Diſtinction above-mentioned is of no avail, is the direct Oppoſition, which we find in the Clauſe before us, between the Words *aliquando fuerunt in ipſo*, and the Word *receſſerunt*; by which it becomes equivalent to this, *aliquando quidem fuerunt in ipſo nunc autem non ſunt amplius in ipſo, quia, ſcilicet, ab ipſo receſſerunt.* Add *Socii*, 'twill be all one; *aliquando fuerunt in ipſo Socii, nunc autem ideò non*

ſunt

ſunt in ipſo Socii, quia ab ipſo receſſerunt. This, I am perſuaded, is the true Senſe, though it be not the exact Form, of the Sentence. And a Paſſage in the New-College Statutes, written on a ſimilar Occaſion, and to the ſame purpoſe with this, confirms me in this Opinion. It relates to the Election of a Warden of New-College, and directs the Electors to chuſe "one of themſelves the Scrutators, or of the other Fellows of that College, or of thoſe, who once were of that College, Fellows, and for lawful and honeſt reaſons went off from it." Which direction, when given afterwards to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, as a rule for him to proceed by in appointing a Warden of New-College on a Devolution, is delivered in this form. "One true and perpetual Fellow of the College (meaning New-College) then in the ſame exiſting, or who before had been in the College, and for honeſt reaſons had gone off from the ſame." Where the words, *then in the ſame exiſting*, which go before, leave no manner of doubt about the Senſe of thoſe which follow, namely, *had gone off from the ſame.* And the Paſſage under conſideration is exactly parallel to this. If, notwithſtanding all this, it be ſtill inſiſted on, that the Oppoſition here met

with is not between the having been once, and the not being now, *of the College*; but between the having been once, and the not being now, *Fellows*; I muſt beg leave to ſupply the Words that are wanting to make this Oppoſition appear diſtinctly, and ſee how the Sentence will then look — *aliquando fuerunt in ipſo collegio Socii, nunc autem, etſi non ſint Socii, ſunt tamen in ipſo Collegio, et ab eodem receſſerunt.* Indeed! and how is this riddle to be ſolved? Why, thus, *receſſerunt quidem, ſed alio aliquo tempore quàm de quo hìc agitur.* Needs there any reply to be made to this? Were it true, is it any thing more than a mere Cavil, owing to the perverſe acceptation of an ambiguous Word? and is not the caution given above, againſt yielding to ſlight Arguments, of this tendency, able to ſhield me from the force of ſuch a Cavil? But in Truth it hath no foundation. *Receſſerunt*, here, is not equivocal. It ſignifies but one thing, which is this, that the Perſons, to whom it is applied, are *ſtill* to be reckoned among thoſe who have quitted the Society. And this it doth, notwithſtanding it be expreſſed in the Preter Tenſe; for that is only to denote that the *Act* is paſt, and therefore compleat, however the *State*, enſuing on it, may re-

remain; which is more than the Preſent Tenſe would have done: for that would only have ſignified that the Act is now in performing. For this I appeal to the Grammarians; and ſhall only put a Caſe, which is ſuggeſted to me by a Place in our own Statutes, wherein it is prohibited, that the Scholars ſhould loiter in the Hall after Meals; and this is expreſſed by an Order, that as ſoon as Dinner or Supper is over, unleſs in extraordinary caſes, they ſhall retire thence, *ab aulâ recedant*. Suppoſe, now, one of theſe poor Lads, in the gaiety of his Heart, ſhould think himſelf a Match for this Order; and, in defiance of it, ſtay behind the reſt, at ſuch a time, in the Hall, (for any purpoſe you will pleaſe to ſuppoſe) or ſhould even go out with them, and return back; and being detected, and queſtioned upon his Behaviour, ſhould urge in his Defence, that he had obeyed the Statute, and, though in the very Hall itſelf, maintain to the face of his Governour, that *ab aulâ receſſerat*: meaning, as it ſhould ſeem, when preſſed to an Explanation, that he had done ſo yeſterday, or the day before, or, it may be, a twelvemonth ſince; how are we to imagine ſuch a Plea would be taken? as a juſt Excuſe?

cuſe? or not rather as a Prevarication with the Statute ten times more offenſive than the Fault which occaſioned it? Now it is of no moment, whether it be the Hall, or the Society, that is ſaid to have been left. The *having left* Either, in the Import of the Statute, cannot conſiſt with the *being in it*. *Receſſerunt* therefore can bear no other meaning, than what I have aſſigned to it in the Paſſage before us; and if you would explain it from the Context, it muſt not be thus—*ita receſſerunt, ut poſteà ad Collegium redierint*—but *ità receſſerunt, ut non ſint nunc in Collegio*. And, in order to include the Caſe contended for, there muſt have been another Member added to the Clauſe. It muſt have been, not only—*aut de illis qui aliquando fuerunt in ipſo Collegio Socii, et receſſerunt*—but—*aut de illis etiam, qui poſt talem receſſum iterum in Collegium recepti fuerunt*.

In ſhort, and to take our leave of ſuch trifling, The Founder was no Dealer in Subtilties. Plain Senſe he choſe to expreſs in a plain manner: and it is no difficulty to underſtand his Meaning, if we will but allow him to mean what he ſays. *Thoſe who have formerly been Fellows in one or other*

of

of his Colleges, and have left their reſpective College with a fair Character," is very intelligible: and there are many, whoſe Caſes it will perfectly ſuit. Gentlemen, for inſtance, who, having been bred at New-College, and having finiſhed their Education there with Credit, have been advanced ſince to Preferments, ſettled upon Benefices, transferred to the other College, promoted to Dignities, or poſſeſſed of Eſtates inconſiſtent with retaining their Fellowſhips. Theſe are the Perſons, whom, in all probability, the Founder was thinking of, when he wrote this Statute: they fall ſo naturally within his Deſcription, without the leaſt force or equivocation whatſoever. Why ſhould we think then he had any others in View, whoſe Title muſt, at beſt, be obſcure and diſputable? Why the Warden of New-College in particular, who, with all the force that can be uſed, can never be brought within it: but whoſe Pretenſions had the Founder thought fit to favour, no doubt he would have done it in the moſt open manner, and placed him the very foremoſt in Rank.

Such is the Explication, which I take to be

be the true one, of this Statute. And it falls in perfectly with the Founder's Great Aim and Intention: which was, as we may learn from Himself, the Advancement of Religion and Science, by the creating of two Societies, one subordinate and preparatory to the other, to be perpetually employed in the Culture of Both. The Means, by which this End was to be attained, was the settling a Form of Discipline in each College, suited to its respective Design, to be administered and enforced by proper Officers, under the Inspection, and subject to the Controll, (though in the different Colleges in very different degrees and manners) of the Head of the Principal Society. He, in the ordinary course of things, is the Superintendant of the whole Polity: the Eye and Hand of the Founder; to observe, and to rectify, whatever may happen, in the Conduct of the Administration, to be mismanaged, or disconcerted in it. And upon His Vigilance, Activity, and Address, in supporting a vigorous and impartial Discipline, the Success of the Founder's Establishment must ever in a great measure depend.

To

To enable him to exert this power freely, there is nothing of ſo great Importance, as that he ſhould be Independent: Independent, I mean, on thoſe he is to govern; ſo as not to have his Condition capable of being either improved, or impaired, to any conſiderable degree, by the determinations of their Will. This was the State in which the Founder placed him, and in which therefore he deſigned he ſhould continue; as being indeed the moſt proper for him in that Capacity, in which alone he had any concern with him, namely, as Governor of his Chief College. For as to the likings or diſlikings, conveniences or inconveniences, of Perſons in that Situation, conſidered in their private capacity, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that, in laying out the Plan of his Colleges, the Founder had regard to them: They are but trifles in compariſon, and, if only for their Inconſiſtency, could never have been properly provided for. The Great Object of his Attention, on that Occaſion, we may take for granted from the nature of the Caſe, could only have been, What Conſtitutions were, abſolutely and upon the Whole, moſt expedient for the good of his Societies: What Meaſures moſt conducive

to

to render his Design in them ſucceſsfull to Perpetuity. And ſurely between the Two, of Subjecting the Governour to Influence, or preſerving him Independent, there could be no room to heſitate: the Superiour Advantage of the Latter, for accompliſhing the End in view, being ſo obvious and glaring, as to recommend itſelf inſtantly to his Notice, and extort, as it were, the Preference. But now, if the Senſe I have given of this Statute be falſe, This Independence is gone; the Security, ariſing from it, for the due execution of Statutes, is gone; the Governor, in proſpect of Elections, is expoſed to all the Embarraſſments, and all the Condeſcenſions, of Competition; and the Founder, after employing ſo much thought to contrive, ſo much earneſtneſs to recommend, ſo much authority to enjoyn, a wiſe and well-concerted Scheme of Diſcipline, hath, at laſt, with one Stroke of his Pen, enervated, and in effect, abrogated, the Whole. Shall we admit this? If not, the Senſe I have above given of this Statute muſt be true.

There are other inconveniences, beſides theſe hinted at, which would flow from a contrary

contrary interpretation of this Statute: but, the Subject being invidious, I chuſe not to enlarge upon them, for fear of being ſuſpected to have a View in what I ſay to any particular Perſons or Proceedings: which I beg the Reader to believe I have not; being only ſollicitous to ſtate the Caſe, as it appears to me, abſtractedly, and in itſelf, together with ſome of its genuine Conſequences; which, though there is no neceſſity they ſhould *always* take place, are of ſo pernicious a Nature, that they ſhould be prevented, if poſſible, from *ever* taking place. And ſo I deſire to be underſtood; having no intent to offend any, but to deliver, what it concerns me to deliver, in the Spirit, I hope, of Peace, as well as Truth.

If this Explication then be right, as I have acted in conformity to it, This, I ſuppoſe, will juſtify my Conduct. If it be not right, I ſhould be obliged to any one, who would point out to me, with Candour, wherein it is wrong. Of twenty-four Predeceſſors, that I have had in my Office, the Six laſt only were choſen from Wardens of New-College. Now the Firſt Warden of Wincheſter College was put in by the

Founder

Founder in the year 1382, and the First of theſe Six was elected in the year 1679; ſo that for 297 Years together This Statute, in the Senſe I have given of it, was not once, in this particular, tranſgreſſed. The whole courſe of time, that has run ſince, amounts in all but to 79 Years: ſo that Antiquity, in this queſtion, is evidently on my ſide. And within the firſt 61 of theſe 79 Years were all the Six Elections juſt ſpoken of made, and in neither of them all was this Statute obſerved: ſo little proſpect is there, when an ill Cuſtom is once introduced, that it ſhould ever ceaſe of its own accord. The Election of Dr. Purnell was made after the Example of the Six preceding: How then it can be excuſed from being, what They, it is certain, (however it came about,) every one, were, a Deviation from the Statute; let thoſe explain, who think themſelves concerned to maintain its Validity. Such it appeared, as we ſaid, to the Viſitor; who, in order to recall the ancient Method of Electing and to ſecure for the future a due regard to the Inſtitutions of the Founder, thought proper to interpoſe, and to ſet it aſide as ſuch, and to appoint a Warden by his own Authority. Whether he

he had a right ſo to do, let any one judge from the direction thus given him by the Founder.---*Si verò Socii dicti noſtri Collegii--præfatam Electionis formam non obſervaverint, tunc omni poteſtate eligendi illâ vice ipſos volumus fore privatos, ac poteſtatem providendi præfato Collegio prope Wintoniam de Cuſtode idoneo Dominò Epiſcopo Wintonienſi vel ipſius Vicario, &c. concedimus per præſentes.* Then follow the qualifications of the Perſon, whom the Viſitor is to appoint, in nearly the ſame Words, as were above given, as a direction to the Fellows of New-College whom they ſhould chuſe; without the leaſt notice taken *here*, any more than there was *there*, of the Warden of New-College. If there be any certainty in Language, it is plain from hence, that the Viſitor not only hath a right to annull an irregular Election, but, ſo far as a regard to the Truſt repoſed in him can *oblige* him, he is *obliged* to annull it. The Founder hath poſitively ordered it: *volumus fore privatos.* And it is no leſs clear, that he hath granted him in that caſe, a Priviledge, under certain conditions, of nominating a Perſon Himſelf:----*concedimus per præſentes.* The only thing left to his direction is the fixing upon one perſon

rather than another, among ſeveral who are equally qualified; and if in this particular he hath acted according to the beſt of his Judgement, whatever the Event be, the Founder's Will is ſatisfied. Now if the Viſitor hath a right by Statute of appointing a qualified Perſon according to the beſt of his Judgement, and, by any felicity of circumſtances, it hath fallen to my Share to become the Object of that Judgement, how it ſhould be Unſtatutable for him to appoint even Me, will be difficult to ſhew. And if ſuch Appointment be agreeable to Statute, how my Acceptance of it ſhould be contrary to Statute, will be yet harder to reſolve. So far from it, in my opinion, that, as its being in my power to accept it was owing ſolely to a Reſolution taken of correcting an Abuſe committed againſt Statute, My determining to accept it was the higheſt Evidence I could give that I approved of ſuch a Reſolution: and approving of a Reſolution to enforce Obedience to the Statute, is as great an Inſtance, as can be well be demanded, of any Man's diſpoſition to honour the Statute. And if this Correſpondent of Dr. Lowth's, who is ſo much diſpleaſed, that I have paid this honour to it, be indeed the Wykhamiſt

he

he pretends to be, he may eaſily recollect, that at his firſt Admiſſion to a Fellowſhip in New-College, he promiſed, upon Oath, that he would willingly take upon him any Office in it, to which the Society ſhould think proper to depute him; a thing in ſeveral of the Statutes particularly inſiſted on. See Rub. 7. 28. 57. And though the Office, to which I am deputed, be not indeed in that College, nor the Deputation by That Society, yet the Reaſon of the Caſe, and the Authority to be regarded, is the very ſame: and he might have ſuppoſed, had his Charity been extenſive enough, that a Thought of this nature, and not purely a View to Self-intereſt, might have had its influence in determining my Choice. *I*, at leaſt, can aſſure him it had: and am ſtill perſuaded, that the Duty I owed to the Founder, and the Regard I bore to his Societies, required of me, ſince I could innocently engage in it, not to decline a Station, which would yield me ſo frequent Opportunities of expreſſing both to advantage, and probably be an Occaſion to me of paſſing the remainder of my Life in a Service, which the more I ſhall find myſelf able to promote, the more I ſhall certainly

delight in, the Service of Wykham's Family.

Upon a Review of this Account I doubt not but the Reader will be perfectly ſatisfied, that the Warden of New-College is no where to be found, either explicitly or implicitly, in the Deſcription, given by the Founder, of the Perſons, whom he deſigned for Wardens of Wincheſter College. And This, in fact, excludes him from being qualified: there being nothing elſe, but this Deſcription, whereon to found a Claim of this Sort. And had the Founder been ever ſo intent on putting a Bar to his Pretenſions, he could not have done it more effectually, however he might more formally, than by giving Such a Deſcription of the Perſons Eligible, as by no reaſonable Conſtruction can be brought to ſuit him. Why he did not proceed farther, and make a ſpecial Statute on purpoſe to prohibit his being choſen, though we cannot certainly know, we may form very probable Conjectures.

In the firſt place, it was not neceſſary: what he had already done to this effect, being,

ing, as we have ſeen, abundantly ſufficient. Poſſibly, likewiſe, in compoſing this Statute, he might not have been anxious to guard particularly againſt the Warden: He knew very well, that he had made a much ampler Proviſion for him already, and had framed his Statutes and Scheme of Diſcipline in ſuch a manner, as, if conſidered, will ſoon ſhew the Impropriety of regarding Him as a Candidate; and he might, therefore, not ſuſpect, that he would ever offer himſelf as ſuch, or be ſet up by others, upon a Vacancy: and in this diſpoſition of mind he might have neglected poſſibly, or thought it ſuperfluous, to take all the precaution to obviate ſuch an Event, which the Caſe in its nature would have admitted of, and which, it is moſt likely, he would have taken, had he looked on the Event itſelf as probable, or had it as an Object more diſtinctly in View. And if this was truly the Caſe, there is no difficulty at all in it. The Warden, at this rate, is quite out of the Queſtion: and, except it be in ſeeing, that the Form be obſerved, and in delivering his own Voice properly, utterly unconcerned in the whole Tranſaction. Fall to whoſe Lot it will to be moved, He, 'tis agreed, is to continue

in his Poſt. And thus the Deſcription given by the Founder will relate entirely to *other* Perſons. In this view of Things, which I will not ſay is not the right one, the Chief Object of the Founder's Sollicitude will appear to have been, that no Foreigner ſhould ever be elected; no ſuch Perſon as hath not been *already* obliged to the Founder for the beſt part of his Support and Education: and, to ſecure this Point the more effectually, though he hath given the Electors Liberty to take a Perſon either from *within* the Wykhamical Societies, or from *without* them, yet hath he done it with theſe Reſtrictions; that if it be from *within*, ſuppoſe from New-College, they muſt take a Fellow there; ſuppoſe from Wincheſter College, either a Fellow there, or one there, who hath been a Fellow of New-College, and left that College with Credit: which is the Foundation, when they have any, of the Schoolmaſter's and Uſher's Title. If it be from *without*, they are confined in their choice to a Perſon, who hath formerly been in one or other of them, a Fellow, and left it, whichever it was, without any juſt imputation on his Character.

Before

Before I diſmiſs the Subject, it concerns me to take notice of a Paſſage in the Letter to Dr. Lowth, wherein I am ſaid "to have "approved of the Conduct of the Fellows "of New-College in the Election of Dr. "Purnell to the Wardenſhip of Wincheſter, "as regular and Statutable; --- to have de-"clared, that I ſhould look on ſuch a Step "in the Viſitor, (as he hath ſince taken,) "as an unwarrantable Stretch of Power;--- "and, moreover, that I would not accept "of a Preferment from him, thus cir-"cumſtanced, if it ſhould be tendered to "me."

As I was not conſcious of this Approbation, nor of ever having made ſuch Declarations, it could not but ſtartle me at firſt to find my ſelf ſo roundly charged with them. But as it was a Charge only, without the leaſt Proof to ſupport it, or any one Circumſtance mentioned of Time, Place, Perſon, Intent, or Occaſion, relative to the Subject of it, I was not long without the Comfort of believing, that it would not have been left in ſuch a naked State, had the Author of it been provided with any ſuch Proof, or furniſhed with any ſuch Circumſtances to pro-

duce. On the other hand, it was difficult, with any Sentiments of humanity, to ſuppoſe the Whole to be pure Invention. Some grounds there muſt ſurely be, though we ſuppoſe them ever ſo ſlight, for an Accuſation of ſo important a nature. Ballancing theſe matters in my mind, I determined at length to conſult my Friends; particularly Him, whom I chiefly converſed with about the Time which this Author ſpeaks of, namely, within a Day or two after Dr. Purnell's Election; (which Friend, however, prevented me by writing to me firſt) in order to get as minute intelligence, as I could, of any thing that might have eſcaped me near that time, and been capable of being wrought up into ſuch a Shape. And what with Their Information and my own Recollection, I am able to give this account of the matter. The moment Dr. Purnell's Election was over, and it was ſeen how I had diſpoſed of my Vote, it was immediately ſuſpected, and as ſoon, after, aſſerted, that I had acted thus *by Inſtruction*; that I had ſecretly uſed Artifice to ſupplant Dr. Purnell; made intereſt with the Biſhop to be appointed in his ſtead; was, in conſequence, let into his Lordſhip's Intentions; aſſured of

Succeſs

Succeſs in my own Scheme; and had voted in the way I did, only to ſave Appearances. And though not a Tittle of this, from one end to the other, had the leaſt Truth in it, yet the Clamour, once raiſed, was not eaſy to be appeaſed. A Friend of mine, concerned that I ſhould lie under ſuch diſhonourable Suſpicions, and yet not knowing well how to clear me, ſounded me a little on the Subject, and was particularly inquiſitive, whether my Voting, as I had done, proceeded from any Objection I had to the cuſtomary manner of Electing. I aſſured him at once, without the leaſt reſerve, that it did not, as it really did not; for I voted for Dr. Lowth upon motives of quite another nature: the Oath adminiſtered to the Electors, and the nature of the Truſt itſelf abſtractedly from the Oath, requiring of them, in my Opinion, to nominate, not only a Perſon capable, even in a creditable manner, of executing the office, but That very Perſon, whom They, in their Conſciences judge to be the fitteſt, upon the whole, of any they can think of, to to be appointed to it. This He, in his Zeal for my reputation, and not with intent to aſperſe me, (which is the uſe the Letter-writer makes of the Intelligence,) immediately

mediately repreſented to thoſe who were diſcontented with me; and, through Miſtake or Deſign (I hope only the former) it hath been improved by this Author into an Approbation of Dr. Purnell's Election, as having been regularly, that is, Statutably made. But, before he had repreſented the matter thus, he ſhould have conſidered, that it doth by no means follow, that, becauſe a Man doth not *act* with a *View* to a *particular* Objection, therefore he *hath* no ſuch Objection. And farther, that, even if I had voted for Dr. Purnell, this would have been no Evidence, that I had approved of his Election *as regular*, becauſe I might have voted for him out of private Friendſhip, without having ſufficiently conſidered, whethere it were regular or not, in hopes, (for there were different reports ſpread concerning it,) that the Viſitor would not interpoſe. In large Societies, eſpecially where the Members have been bred up at the ſame place, and many of them together, from their Youth, it is not ſo ſtrange a thing for Private Regards to over-rule much better Principles. Beſides, the Approbation of any Conduct *as regular*, if it proceed from Judgement, implies an Enquiry, not only into that Conduct, but into the Rules by which it

ſhould

ſhould be guided; a Compariſon of one with the other; and a Deciſion, upon due deliberation, in favour of ſuch Conduct, *as agreeable* to ſuch Rules. If the Author means ſuch an Approbation as This, it concerns him to ſhew, at what particular time within the Compaſs of two or three days after the Election of Dr. Purnell, (for to that Space of time he is confined) at what place, and upon what account, I ſet my ſelf to work upon making this Enquiry, and paſſing this Deciſion, on the Conduct of the Fellows of New-College at that Election. If he means not ſuch an Approbation as this, but only a precipitate and groundleſs Approbation, made at random, and without any previous Conſideration or Enquiry, he may ſpare himſelf this trouble: but then he had better have ſpared himſelf the whole: for ſuch an Approbation as this, as it doth no honour to any Conduct whatſoever, ſo is it nothing to his purpoſe, as carrying with it no indication of my real Sentiments. The two judicious Declarations, aſſigned to me in conſequence of this approbation, if the approbation fails, upon which alone they are ſupported, muſt, I think, fall of courſe. Both of them in Truth, are nothing elſe, but miſrepreſenta-

tions

tions of what I had ſaid in private Converſation, denoting my *Acquieſcence* in the College-Election. The Summons by which I was ſent for to London, and which reached me the Day after that of the Election, gave me not the leaſt intimation of the Buſineſs upon which I was ſent for; not even ſo much as that I was to wait upon the Viſitor; nor, till I actually appeared before him, did I know for certain any thing of his Reſolutions. In this State, though my manner of Voting had raiſed the Suſpicions aboyementioned, and this Summons, as ſoon as it ſhould be known, I was ſure, would confirm them; yet, whatever Opinion I might have of the Election, whilſt I had no certainty but that it might be, if not approved of, yet connived at, by the Viſitor, I did not look upon it as incumbent on me to make a particular Out-cry againſt it; nor had I then attained to that clear and perfect inſight into the true Merits of it, which might have juſtified me in ſo doing. There was no reaſon to expect this of *Me*, more than of any other Voter in the Society. Neither, in ſhort, can I boaſt, that if, in the Event, his Lordſhip had conſented to the Election, whatever I might have thought of it myſelf, I ſhould have

been

been ſo ſingularly heroick, as to have riſen up and condemned his Proceedings. I arrogate not to myſelf ſuch Superior Merit. Farther than this, when, upon the reception of my Summons, I communicated the purport of it to a few Friends, and we were unanimous in our gueſſes at the Occaſion of it; diſcourſing freely upon the Subject, and knowing the Diſcompoſure the Society was in, ſo far as this, I believe, and no farther, I did deliver my ſelf in favour of the Election; that if, upon my arrival in Town, I ſhould find his Lordſhip of Wincheſter in a diſpoſition to let it paſs, I would uſe no endeavours on my part in the leaſt degree to obſtruct it; and, moreover, in caſe his Lordſhip ſhould ſee proper to make an Offer of the Place to Me, I would not determine to accept of the favour, till I ſhould be ſatisfied, that by declining it I could be of no uſe to Dr. Purnell. All which, though I needed not have promiſed, yet having promiſed, I did my part in performing. The Ambition of being advanced to the Station I am in, had no ſuch Influence then on my Mind, as this Author ſeems to imagine. I lookt at the *Circumſtances* more than at the *Thing*. And in that view it appeared to me, as an Object rather to be feared

ed than wished. From the Diſſatisfaction I ſaw to be already ſpring up, I drew my Conjectures at what was to come; and expected, as ſoon as I ſhould be placed in it, to be expoſed to the Attacks of Envy and Malevolence, Reſentment and Rage, and all thoſe other ſtormy Paſſions, which are the uſual attendants of Diſappointment: not to ſay, the Danger of being purſued at Law, and involved in a Courſe of expenſive Litigation. Experience has ſhewn me, that this was immenſely overcharging the matter. But 'tis the nature of Apprehenſion to magnify its Object; and had I not had a ſtrong ſenſe of Duty to oppoſe to it, I know not how far it might have gone upon that Occaſion, towards rendering me the Victim of my own Puſillanimity. Whether the Converſation I have, thus acknowledged, in whole or in part, was communicated immediately to the Writer of this Letter, or conveyed to him through a Succeſſion of hands, is more than I can tell: but This I am entirely ſatisfied of, partly from my own memory, and partly from the Letters I have received about it from my Friends, that all that he aſcribes to me beyond this, or inconſiſtent with it, is ſo much pure Addition and Improvement.

Yet

Yet ſuppoſing it were all Truth, and juſt as he ſtates it, were he but in earneſt, he hath made my Apology. For he allows me in due time to have changed my Mind. But though by this He only means, that I diſguiſed it, yet hath he ſpoken more Truth in that acknowledgement, than he was aware of. If bringing the Mind from a more fluctuating to a more ſettled State, upon any Queſtion, be changing it; Something of a Change of this ſort, though not very conſiderable, I cannot deny, was wrought in my Mind after the time that he ſpeaks of, even after the offer made me by the Biſhop. For, though from the Accounts which had been formerly ſent me of the Papers, which this Author hath republiſhed, (for I was out of the Kingdom when they firſt came out) it is impoſſible but I muſt have had reaſons, at leaſt, for ſuſpecting, that the late Method of Electing was wrong; and from what I had heard of it on many occaſions, I was enough inclined to believe it ſo; yet was not this ſo full and compleat a Perſuaſion, as I thought it became me to have of this Point, before I engaged, upon the ſtrength of it, to take upon me ſo important a Charge, even though

recom-

recommended to me by his Lordſhip's Judgement. I knew that I had not ſifted the Senſe of the Statutes with that Diligence, that is neceſſary to a perfect Information on a point of ſuch Conſequence; and therefore took the Liberty of hanging back a little, and making ſome Demur to his Lordſhip's Propoſal: begging the favour, that he would grant me a ſufficient time to conſider of the matter farther, and form my determination in; and withal, to enable me to do this properly, that he would be pleaſed to ſupply me with a Copy of the Statutes of each College, that I might freely examine ſuch Paſſages of them, as I ſhould apprehend might relate to the Subject. His Lordſhip was pleaſed to comply with my requeſt in each of theſe Particulars: and I accordingly employed the beſt part of two, if not three, Days, in conſulting and comparing Statutes with a particular Attention to this very Point. The reſult was, that I was fully convinced, ſo as to have no Scruple left, of his Lordſhip's Right for that Turn to nominate; and conſequently that I might, if I ſhould think fit, very innocently accept of his Favour, without the leaſt incroachment upon any of the Rights either

either of the Warden, or the Fellows, of New-College: nay, to the Eſtabliſhment of them all; becauſe in obedience to, and therefore in confirmation of, the Authority of thoſe Statutes, upon which alone they are all founded. And in this perſuaſion I did accept of it, with great integrity and confidence of Mind, and great Gratitude to his Lordſhip for it. How it came to paſs, that I had not made ſo accurate Search into this matter before, if it were neceſſary, I could eaſily explain. [illegible] enough, that I had not done it. [illegible] how far I had approached towards [illegible] cannot preciſely ſay. Thus much, however, I am ready to acknowledge, that as far as I fell ſhort of it, ſo far I was to blame: for the means of doing it were always in my power. Not that I had any reaſon to be ſcrupulous about it when I came to deliver my Vote, becauſe the perſon I nominated was free from *all* Exception. This conceſſion, however, if it is to my diſadvantage, may ſerve to convince this Writer, that, when I know myſelf to be in the wrong, I am far from being diſinclined to confeſs it: and this may entitle me perhaps to expect, that ſince I have *now* proved *Him* to be ſo, He ſhould

be diſpoſed to follow this Example. But, for my part, I make no ſuch Demand. It is not for Frailty to uſe Rigour. What is paſt, I freely excuſe, and ſhall impute, if he pleaſes, to Miſinformation only; let him do me this juſtice in return, that, if hereafter he ſhall happen to hear (as what may he not hear in his traffick with a cenſorious World?) any other Surmiſes advanced to my Prejudice, he will not forwardly give credit to them, nor unthinkingly indulge a Zeal in proclaiming them; leaſt haſtily, after he has thrown his Dart, he may find it hath ſtruck the wrong Perſon, and wounded one, who hath certainly done Him no harm, and to whom perhaps He himſelf wiſhes none.

C. MR. COLLINS.

Winchester College,
Sept. 30. 1758.

P. S.

P. S. Left any Wykhamiſt ſhould be offended at the Liberty I have taken of citing the Statutes of this College in the Original, I aſſure him, that I have not done it without the Approbation of all thoſe, whom, by the ſaid Statutes, I was obliged, in this caſe, to conſult. See Stat. of Wincheſter College, Rub. 42.

F I N I S.

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of Winchester College

Hadley's Coffee house

AN

ANSWER

TO AN

ANONYMOUS LETTER

TO

Dr. LOWTH.

Price One Shilling.

AN

ANSWER

Hadley's (coffee house)

TO AN

ANONYMOUS LETTER

TO

DR. LOWTH;

1710 - 1787

CONCERNING THE

LATE ELECTION

OF A

WARDEN

OF

WINCHESTER COLLEGE.

LONDON:

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M.DCC.LIX.

TO THE AUTHOR OF AN ANONYMOUS LETTER TO DR. LOWTH.

SIR,

THO' I might ſtand fairly excuſed to you, if I ſpared myſelf this trouble, and 'threw 'aſide your letter with the contempt, 'which you pronounce* to be generally due to Ano-'nymous Letters;' yet as you have been pleaſed to repreſent me in a very unfavourable light to a ſociety, towards which I bear the trueſt reſpect and the ſincereſt affection, I could not excuſe myſelf to that ſociety, if I ſhould paſs it by unnoticed. I am not indeed apprehenſive, that the charge you have brought againſt me will make the leaſt impreſſion on any unprejudiced mind; but I might

* Letter, p. 22.

ſeem not to act agreeably to thoſe ſentiments of reſpect and affection, which I profeſs to bear towards that ſociety, if I treated it with that indifference and neglect, which, by your own conceſſion, it deſerves. For I cannot conceive on what pretence you can plead an exemption for yourſelf from your own general rule: a rule, which your own example will very properly ſerve to illuſtrate and enforce. You have taken upon you to report facts, to publiſh private converſations, to ſuggeſt doubts and ſurmiſes, affecting the reputation of perſons of fair character, of one in particular of great dignity and eminence; and this upon your own authority and teſtimony: and what is the authority of a concealed author, or who will admit of the teſtimony of an unknown witneſs?

You needed not to have been under any concern for your reputation as a writer. I dare ſay your clients are ſatisfied with your pleading. You have indeed done juſtice to their cauſe; you have ſet it forth to the beſt advantage; you have even given it ſomewhat of a plauſible appearance: and when I ſay this, I pay no mean compliment to your art, and to the elegance of your ſtile. So far from pretending to cenſure you, I beg to be underſtood not to put myſelf in competition with you in this reſpect. I very readily acknowledge likewiſe the decency and civility of your addreſs, as far as it concerns myſelf: even this is but too uncommon on ſuch occaſions; and you have my thanks for it. But there is alſo a more important regard, to which

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I think every one is intitled; I mean that of being treated with candor, equity, and common juſtice, I owe you no acknowledgments on this account. You begin with ſignifying to me and to the public, * 'that I have attacked the reputation of the ſociety 'of New College; that I have thrown upon it re-'proach and accuſation; and that I retain no ſenſe 'of the obligations which I lie under to the ſource 'of my education and maintenance; that I have 'triumphed in the diſappointments of the preſent 'members of that ſociety, and cruelly inſulted their 'misfortunes.' Pray, Sir, by what ſort of rea-ſoning upon any thing that I have done or ſaid do you deduce theſe hard concluſions? Give me leave to ſtate my caſe plainly and in few words. A practice of many years ſtanding, which was generally allowed not to be agreable to the Founder's intentions, which hath lately been pointed out as irreconcileable with a particular ſtatute, and which, as I apprehend, hath been, and muſt ever be, of pernicious conſequence to the welfare and good government of both the ſocieties concerned, hath now been corrected and rectified by proper authority, and according to the expreſs directions of the Founder. This at leaſt is my ſincere opinion of the matter; and, accordingly, not only in perfect conſiſtence with my regard and affection for thoſe ſocieties, and zeal for their welfare and reputation, but even in conſequence of theſe ſentiments, I have publicly given my teſtimony to the upright-

* Letter, p. 9, 10, 11.

neſs and rectitude of the whole tranſaction, by which this abuſe hath been corrected. Suppoſing this opinion wrong; doth it follow, that I have been influenced, as you repreſent me to have been, by diſaffection to thoſe ſocieties, and that I have loſt all ſenſe of my obligations to them? Did it require any great effort of candor and generoſity to diſtinguiſh in this caſe between a miſtaken judgement and a malevolent diſpoſition? If I have repreſented the ſociety of New College as having been miſtaken in their method of proceeding, is this bringing an accuſation againſt them, and throwing reproach upon them? Whatever infamy attends this accuſation and reproach, I myſelf muſt take my ſhare in it; for I was in the ſame miſtake myſelf, and acted under the influence of it. I am not aſhamed to own this; for not merely to have been in an error, but to perſiſt in an error when once ſeen and acknowledged, is juſt matter of reproach: and this reproach, I am perſuaded, that ſociety will never be induced, by all you have ſaid or can ſay in behalf of the late practice, ever to bring upon themſelves. You add, that I "have triumphed in their "diſappointments, and cruelly inſulted their mif-"fortunes." Some perſons of that ſociety have indeed been diſappointed; but I know of no injury that any one hath ſuffered, or of any misfortune that hath happened to the ſociety itſelf. I rejoice in no man's diſappointment: I have caſt no perſonal reflection on any man: the character, the abilities, the worth, of the perſons moſt nearly concerned, are unqueſtioned: I bear them all due re-

ſpect;

ſpect: I hope I may have ſtill the honor of reckoning them in the number of my friends: but they muſt excuſe me, if zeal for the general welfare of the two Wykehamical ſocieties take place with me of all private regards whatſoever; if I heartily approve of what hath been done; if I rejoice in ſeeing a miſtaken and irregular practice rectified, an abuſe of pernicious conſequence corrected, and the Founder's unqueſtionable intention, in a point of great importance to the good government of both Colleges, fulfilled in the moſt unexceptionable manner. The invidious turn, which you have given to this, is too forced and conſtrained to impoſe upon any one: this is one of the little, low, diſingenuous arts of modern controverſy. If you can but reconcile it to the approbation of your own mind, you may indeed juſtify yourſelf to the world by the authority of cuſtom and uſage, which you may plead upon this, with juſt as much propriety as you have done upon another occaſion. As for myſelf, I am not at all in pain about it: when I find you have ſucceeded in the other principle parts of your hopeful undertaking; when you have convinced any one, who is in the leaſt acquainted with Dr. Golding's character, that he is a ſly, intriguing, diſhoneſt, arrogant and ſelf-conceited man; when you have perſuaded the world, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter is a violator of rights, and an uſurper on property, ſevere in his proceedings, and arbitrary in his principles; then I ſhall begin to be apprehenſive, that you may make me

paſs, in the two ſocieties, and in the world, for an ungrateful and diſaffected Wykehamiſt.

But I find I have had the misfortune to draw down your diſpleaſure upon me, not merely by approving the Viſitor's proceedings: my crime, it ſeems, is of a ſtill greater magnitude; I have been myſelf concerned in the late tranſaction: 'by * my 'intercourſe, and even intimacy, with my great 'Patron, I have been deep in the ſecret.' Upon my word, Sir, you do me an honour to which I have no claim in any reſpect. I will give you all the ſatisfaction I can upon this point, as it is a thing which you have more than once intimated, and of which I know ſome of your friends were perſuaded before. And that I may not be ſummoned any more to my examination on this article, I will explain myſelf fully and particularly upon it.

To take up this affair therefore from the beginning: ſome years ago, I think in September 1753, I received by the poſt a printed paper from an unknown hand, ſtating the caſe of the election of the Warden of New College to the wardenſhip of Winchester College, as irregular and unſtatutable. It is the ſame that you have inſerted in your letter †, tho' not ſo accurately as you profeſs to have done. I ſoon found that the ſame paper was received, in the ſame manner, by ſeveral perſons in different parts, as well ſuch as bore no relation to the two

* Letter, p. 13. Advertiſement, p. iii. † P. 23.

Colleges,

Colleges, as thoſe that belonged to them. Before I ſaw this paper, I never had conſidered the practice of New College in that light: indeed I had never particularly conſidered it, or throughly examined it at all. The practice had been tranſmitted down to us by our predeceſſors, from the latter end of the laſt century; and, as it is too apt to be the caſe, it was ſuppoſed and taken for granted that it was right, and received without any conſideration or ſcruple, merely becauſe it had been ſo long the practice. But I now ſaw ſo plainly the illegality of that method of election clearly laid open to the ſociety and to the world, that I concluded it could never take place any more: and I at that time took the liberty plainly to declare this my opinion to ſeveral perſons. Some of the gentlemen of New College, I heard, were greatly offended at this paper: it was not 'thrown * aſide with the contempt that is ge-'nerally due to anonymous letters; it was not bu-'ried in obſcurity, neither was it forgotten:' but all notice and mention of the thing was diſcouraged, and it was carefully ſuppreſſed, as containing dangerous and treaſonable matter. I then ſhut up my mouth too, being very unwilling to give any unneceſſary offence; but was ſtill of the ſame opinion. I knew, that if I had been as well informed before the laſt election of a Warden of Wincheſter College, I ſhould not have given my vote for Dr. Coxed, for whom I had a great reſpect and eſteem, nor for any other man living, who might then have

* Letter, p. 22.

been Warden of New College, to be Warden of Winchester College. I imagined that others might poſſibly think in the ſame way, which might give a new turn to another election; or that if the College ſhould not think proper to alter their practice, the Viſitor, whoever he might be, would certainly do it for them. This was my judgment of the conſequences: and ſome, I am ſure, many others, I believe, agreed with me in it. After this I had ſeveral times occaſion to wait on the Biſhop of Wincheſter. His Lordſhip never once entered into converſation with me upon the caſe of the election of a Warden of New College to the headſhip of Wincheſter College; he never gave me the leaſt intimation of his deſign with reſpect to it; nor, as far as I can recollect, did he ever ſay any thing to me, or aſk me any queſtion, that had any relation to that ſubject. In ſhort, I never moved in that affair, nor was I at all concerned in it. When the vacancy happened, and during the whole of the tranſaction conſequent upon it, I was at a great diſtance from the ſcene of action, in the county of Durham: and knew no more of what paſſed, than as I was informed by the public papers, and in the ordinary courſe of my correſpondence. I was not a little ſurpriſed to find ſome time afterwards, that it was reported in the College, and confidently aſſerted, that at the time of the election, or juſt after it, I was come to London on purpoſe to confer with the Biſhop of Wincheſter upon the occaſion; and that a large ſhare of the odium of the devolution, and the appointing another Warden by the Viſitor's authority,

was thrown upon me. This ſuſpicion aroſe in certain jealous minds, which cannot yet get free from the apprehenſions of ſomething deeply myſterious * even in the plaineſt matters, from ſome circumſtances that appeared upon the ſcrutiny; of which I had not the leaſt previous knowledge, and in which I had no concern or influence whatſoever. I was at this time employed in laying together and preparing for the public, the materials, which I had with no ſmall care and pains collected, for the Life of Wykeham; with a grateful intention, and earneſt deſire,

* See Letter, p. 56. The Viſitor is allowed by the ſtatute the ſpace of five days, after the preſentation of the Warden Elect, to conſider of the validity of the election. See Letter, p. 53. His Lordſhip having declared to the Warden Elect his principal objections to the validity of the election, from a written paper, part of which he read to him; waited to hear, whether he had any thing to offer in his own behalf, and in anſwer to thoſe objections. No ſatisfactory defence being then made, the Viſitor reſolved to defer his final determination of the caſe, to the utmoſt extent of the time allowed him. This he more fully explained next morning to a gentleman, (Mr. Coulſon) who came to him from the Warden, in order to propoſe to him the hearing of council publicly. To which propoſal the Biſhop thought not fit to conſent: but aſſured the Warden, by this gentleman, that he might conſult whom he pleaſed; and that his Lordſhip was ready to hear what he might think fit to offer, within that time, in ſupport of his cauſe. Thus is the whole myſtery of this delay accounted for. I hope my correſpondent will excuſe me, if I think it ſufficient to purſue the general argument, and do not go out of my way to make my remarks upon every particular paſſage and incidental expreſſion, that may ſeem to require it; being apprehenſive, that the preſent debate will, even without this, be apt to grow very tireſome both to ourſelves, and to our readers.

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of reviving his memory, and doing juſtice to his character. I had all along deſigned to preſent it, in the cuſtomary form of Dedication, to the Biſhop of Wincheſter; the Truſtee and Subſtitute of Wykeham, the public Patron of his Colleges, and my own private Patron. I believe you will hardly diſpute with me the propriety of this deſign. And as to the particular manner in which it is executed, which has given you and ſome others ſo much offence; I ſhall very freely explain to you and to the public, ſince you call upon me ſo to do, not only the reaſons and authorities upon which the teſtimony, which I have there given, is founded, but the motives alſo which induced me to give it. I found, that much clamour was raiſed againſt a deciſion, which I was fully perſuaded was in every reſpect right, and of the greateſt importance to the welfare of the two ſocieties; that many hard and unjuſt reflections were thrown on the conduct of a great Prelate, not more reſpectable for his rank and dignity, than for his private virtues and public merits, and to whom I had the higheſt obligations; that the character of the perſon, whom you call my friend, and I ſhall always eſteem it my honour and happineſs that he is ſo; a character, which you yourſelf allow to have appeared to thoſe, who beſt knew it, to have been * 'as fair a one as ever man 'had;' that this fair character was unworthily aſperſed and vilified by ſurmiſes and reports, which I had the greateſt reaſon to believe to be altogether groundleſs and falſe; of which you have given a

* Letter, p. 17.

ſufficient

ſufficient ſpecimen, unſupported by any allegation or proof whatſoever, other than your bare word: the imputation thrown upon myſelf I could very eaſily bear, and would not give myſelf the trouble of removing; but I could not wholly diſſemble my ſentiments, when ſo fair an occaſion offered itſelf, without deſerting the cauſe of my Friend, of my Patron, and of Wykeham. My ſilence in ſuch circumſtances would have appeared affected to others, and even criminal to myſelf. I could not therefore heſitate to juſtify thoſe proceedings, as far as my teſtimony would go; when, in my ſituation, not to have juſtified them might have been interpreted to have condemned them.

Thus, Sir, by way of preliminary, I have explained to you the motives of my declaration, and opened to you the whole concern which I had in the tranſaction, which makes the ſubject of your Letter. You may depend upon it, that I have dealt fairly with you, and that if I had had any larger ſhare in it, I would freely declare it: for tho' I ſhould be very ſorry to offend any one perſon of the ſociety of which I have had the honour of being a member, yet I muſt own to you, I ſhould be very unwilling to loſe the merit of it with all their ſucceſſors.

I ſhall now proceed to give you the reaſons and authorities, which you demand, of this avowed approbation of the Viſitor's proceedings in this whole tranſaction; and to open to you freely and

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at large every part of the offenſive paſſage in my Dedication. You have my free leave to apply this * paſſage to the Hiſtory of the late Election of a Warden of Wincheſter College; to the rejection of the Warden of New College, and the ſubſtitution of Mr. Golding in his place, by the Viſitor's authority; for it was this that I had principally in view. But I muſt deſire, that you would not confine it, as you ſeem to do, to this only: for it was not my intention to limit and reſtrain it in that manner. Tho' the preſent Biſhop of Wincheſter hath never held a ſolemn Viſitation of either of the two Colleges, or given any decree in form before, relating to their public affairs; yet there are not wanting inſtances, in which they have in a leſs formal way conſulted him as their Viſitor; private members alſo of thoſe Colleges have ſometimes had occaſion to apply to him in that capacity: and I believe you will not deny, that they have always been received and treated by him with all poſſible humanity, courteſy, and favour. His Lordſhip indeed never ſhewed any earneſt inclination, or forwardneſs in ſeeking occaſion, to interpoſe in their public tranſactions with his Viſitatorial authority; and this very diſpoſition I have heard acknowledged within thoſe walls, as an argument of that tenderneſs and indulgence, of which I was ſpeaking. And to your obſervation, "that he hath at no other time been known "to interpoſe with his Viſitatorial Authority," I muſt add, that he hath at no time been known to

* See Letter, p. 11.

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interpoſe with that influence, which hath ſometimes been conſidered as a convenient appendage of the Viſitatorial authority. He hath never interpoſed in their annual Election, by recommendatory Letters, laying the Electors under difficulties, and demanding regards inconſiſtent with their duty. He hath never interpoſed in the ſucceſſion, by ordering reſignations to be accepted or refuſed, through favour or affection, without any certain rule, or due judgement on the caſe. He never attempted to eſtabliſh a final and uncontrolable authority over one of the Colleges, which the Founder never gave him: nor did he ever aſſert and maintain that authority already eſtabliſhed by one of his Predeceſſors. Be pleaſed to recollect that liſt of the Viſitors of almoſt a Century paſt, which you * have laid before me: can the ſame be ſaid of all of them? can the ſame, in every inſtance above mentioned, be ſaid of any one of them, Trimnell only excepted? I mean not to leſſen his merits towards thoſe ſocieties, which, if meaſured by the intention, were undoubtedly great; but Trimnell's continuance in that ſtation was very ſhort, and beſides that natural and habitual affection, which he had for the two ſources of his education and maintenance, he lay under peculiar obligations of the moſt ſacred nature, (I mean, the ſeveral oaths by which he had been bound to thoſe ſocieties,) to be very tender of interpoſing in matters not clearly within his province. The preſent Viſitor, a ſtrang-

* Letter, p. 49.

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et, and free from ſuch peculiar connexion and obligation, during a courſe of ſo many years, and with ſo many precedents before him that might ſeem to juſtify it, hath as religiouſly abſtained from all ſuch interpoſition. And will not thoſe ſocieties ever acknowledge with gratitude his juſt regard for their rights, that almoſt ſingular diſintereſtedneſs and tenderneſs, which he hath ever maintained in theſe inſtances, and, I will add, in his whole behaviour towards them? Thus much premiſed to aſſert the extent of my meaning, I readily admit your application; and ſhall reconſider what I have ſaid in the way in which you underſtand it, and with a view to that particular tranſaction only. And I think it may be reduced to the following propoſitions:

1. That the Duty of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, as the Founder's Truſtee, obliged him to interpoſe with his authority on occaſion of the late Election of a Warden of Wincheſter College.

2. That his Lordſhip's Deciſion upon it was wholly diſintereſted and perfectly upright.

3. That he acted in it juſt as the Founder had preſcribed, and juſt in every reſpect as He would have acted himſelf.

Now the truth of the Firſt of theſe propoſitions will ſufficiently appear, if it be proved, that that Election was unſtatutable, irregular, contrary to the Founder's plain deſign and intention, and the prac-

practice of electing in that manner detrimental in its conſequences to both the ſocieties concerned:

Of the Second, if it appear, that the Viſitor, in the place of the perſon unſtatutably elected, ſubſtituted another perſon in all reſpects properly qualified; without regard to any private intereſt or affection of his own, or to any recommendation or ſollicitation of others; but ſolely with a view to the ſatisfaction, welfare, and credit of thoſe ſocieties:

And of the Third, if it be ſhewn, that his proceedings were exactly agreeable to the Founder's plain directions in his ſtatutes; to his views, deſign, and end; and to his own manner of acting as Patron of his Colleges, as far as it may be preſumed or collected.

I. That the late Election was unſtatutable, hath been plainly and undeniably proved already by Dr. Golding;* who hath examined the ſtatute, concerning the qualifications of the perſon to be elected, with the utmoſt accuracy, and placed it in every point of view ſo clearly and diſtinctly, that nothing remains for me to add on that head. Yet I cannot help expreſſing my ſurpriſe at the confidence, with which you would impoſe upon us your interpreta-

* See His "Defence of the Conduct of the Warden of "Wincheſter College in accepting of that Wardenſhip," lately publiſhed.

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tion of the phraſe *recedere à Collegio*; a phraſe in itſelf as clear, and as clearly determined by the frequent and conſtant uſe of it, as any whatever throughout the ſtatutes of both Colleges: you would have us reſtrain it to the Fellows only, whereas it is uſed of all the members of both Colleges, and particularly of the Warden of New College himſelf. The Founder frequently mentions the caſe of the Warden's quitting his office, which he calls his *receding from the College*: now if the Founder ſuppoſes him to recede from the College by the very act of quitting his Wardenſhip, how could he look upon him as having already receded from the College, while he ſtill continues Warden? This is a difficulty which you ſolve only by your bare affirmation, that * "it can refer only to his receſs from "his Fellowſhip, *à Statu & Conditione Socii, à Societate Collegii*;" and by repeating the ſame in your Advertiſement, where indeed you add new ſtrength to your argument by putting the word FELLOWSHIP in Capitals. But here alſo you even improve upon this, and riſe in your demands upon our credulity, when you expect we ſhould take it upon your word, that this phraſe † "hath "been invariably thus underſtood," according to your palpable miſinterpretation of it, "for above "three Centuries; and that according to this ſenſe, "the Warden of New College hath ever been "looked upon to be as eligible to the Headſhip

* See Letter, p. 39. Advertiſement, p. v.
† Advertiſement, p. vi.

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"of Winton, as any other Perſon:" whereas, directly on the contrary, it is notorious, that the interpretation which you give us of this phraſe was never heard of, and that the Warden of New College was never thought of as eligible to that Headſhip, during thoſe three Centuries which you mention; never before the Election of Dr. Nicholas to it, not quite fourſcore years ago.

I cannot but remark likewiſe your artful manner of ſupporting your cauſe by the authority of the numbers, which you ſuppoſe on your ſide. You take it for granted, that * all the members of the College were unanimouſly of your opinion concerning the interpretation of the ſtatute, and that there never was any doubt about it. I muſt beg leave to aſk, how you infer this: was the late Election unanimous, as it uſed to be on this occaſion? were there not three perſons nominated beſide the Warden of New College? Did all the Fellows zealouſly preſs in to aſſert the Warden's Right of Succeſſion, which was apprehended to be in danger? Did none purpoſely abſent themſelves upon the occaſion? Had the Warden of New College more than a majority of the whole number of Voters, and one to ſpare? From the ſuppoſed opinion of theſe, how do you infer the opinion of all the reſt of the Voters, and that they concurred with them in it? If any inference were to be made, I ſhould think it rather ſhould be the contrary. And not

* Letter, p. 19.

only the opinion of all the reſt of the Voters, but of all the reſt of the members? Or have you perſonally conſulted them all upon it? The next time you conſult them, I am inclined to believe, that you will find, that ſome of thoſe, who were of your opinion, have changed their minds.

But farther; the late Election was not only unſtatutable with regard to the qualification of the perſon elected, but irregular alſo in point of form. For whereas the Founder hath expreſsly ordered, that the day of Election ſhall be within fifteen days, reckoning from the day of the receit of the certificate of the vacancy from Wincheſter College, the Election was not till the ſeventeenth day from that time. And here I have another very extraordinary inſtance, how much you excel as an Advocate in putting a good face upon a bad cauſe: for * after having very confidently aſſerted the abſolute falſehood and groundleſſneſs of this objection, and then exhibited at large your confutation of it by another new diſcovered interpretation of the ſtatute relating to this matter, you with much ſeeming ſelf-ſatisfaction repeat this likewiſe in your Advertiſement, to no other end, that I can conceive, but to bear us down by mere preſumption, and that your argument might make up what it wants in weight and force, by the forwardneſs of its appearance, and the hardineſs of its countenance.

* See Letter, p. 18, 50, &c. Advertiſement, p. iv.

I ſhall

I ſhall take the liberty of repeating here the words of that ſtatute, as far as I have any diſpute with you about them, as * you have publiſhed them to the world; only leaving out one or two pointings of the ſentence, which you have added, I will venture to ſay, without any good authority, in order to make it favour your deſign. "Quam "electionis diem quam citius commode fieri po- "terit infra quindenam immediate tunc [leg. ex- "tunc immediate] ſequentem pro electione hujuſ- "modi facienda per conſenſum & voluntatem ma- "joris partis ipſorum faciant [leg. ſtatuant] & "præfigant." You ſay, that † 'it is plain from 'this ſtatute, that within fifteen days after the *firſt* 'meeting,' *(i. e.* the meeting on the next day after the receit of the certificate of the vacancy,) 'the 'Warden and Fellows muſt *finally* appoint and 'prefix the day of Election:' applying the words *infra quindenam*, not to the next words *pro electione facienda*, but to the words *ſtatuant & præfigant* at the end of this clauſe of the ſentence. That is, that they are allowed fifteen days to conſider of fixing the day of Election; not that the Election itſelf is then to be fixed to ſome day preceding the expiration of thoſe fifteen days. Now the firſt thing to be obſerved in theſe words is, that the Founder takes care to recommend in the firſt place Diſpatch in this buſineſs, whatever it is: that is, either, that the deliberation about the day of Election be terminated as ſoon as conveniently

* Letter, p. 51. † Letter, p. 53.

may be; or that as early a day, as conveniently may be, be fixed upon for the Election itſelf. The only point of importance, that can offer itſelf in this deliberation about the day of Election, (proviſion being already made of ten days notice to the abſent Fellows,) is, that the buſineſs of the Election be brought on and ſet forward without any unneceſſary delay. And of what importance the Founder eſteemed this very point, and how much it was in his thoughts, may be inferred from his own words in another place upon a like occaſion: when * in a ſolemn charge given to his College upon the Election of a Warden, he moſt earneſtly conjures them to obſerve the tenor and exigence of his ſtatutes, as in all other reſpects, ſo particularly in proceeding to their Election "with all diſ-"patch;" and not content to mention it once, he repeats it, by adding afterwards, "without loſs "of time:" and the reaſons of his inſiſting on this ſo much he gives at large in the Preamble: "Leſt a vacancy of long continuance ſhould bring "great detriment upon the ſociety, both in their "perſons and in their affairs; and that his College "under the government of a good Warden may "be protected from harms, and may abound in "peace and charity:" for beſide the inconvenience that might ariſe to the ſeveral members from a long intermiſſion of proper government, and the occaſion given to cabals and feuds, which in ſuch a juncture are always increaſed and aggravated by

* See Appendix to the Life of Wykeham, N°. XI.

delay;

delay; much injury might alſo happen to the property and eſtates of the ſociety, which, while deſtitute of its Head, cannot ſet the Common Seal, or do any legal act. Now can it be thought conſiſtent with the Founder's ſo earneſt deſire, founded on reaſons ſo important, to haſten the concluſion of this buſineſs; that he ſhould allow them to waſte fifteen days in conſultation upon a point of little importance, till two thirds of the whole time allotted is loſt; till, in ſhort, there is not ſufficient time left for bringing the buſineſs to a certain concluſion within the whole time, which he himſelf hath appointed?

For it muſt be obſerved, and you yourſelf have acknowledged *, as indeed the reaſon of the thing, and the ſtatute itſelf requires it, that the ten days notice to the abſent fellows cannot be given, nor can thoſe ten days commence, till the day of Election is actually aſſigned. Now, Sir, be pleaſed to take an account of the times thus limited: here are two days allowed to the Sub-Warden and Fellows of Wincheſter College for certifying the Vacancy to the ſociety of New College. I will not take upon me to ſay, whether any time muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed to be allowed for the tranſmiſſion of this certificate to Oxford: I only obſerve, that in the laſt inſtance it ſeems to have been ſo underſtood: for, if I have been rightly informed, the certificate did not reach New College till the fourth day;

* Letter, p. 53.

and accordingly the meeting to treat of the day of Election was on the fifth. Now ſuppoſing the ſociety to have made uſe of the whole time, which you ſay the Founder hath allowed them for conſultation on this momentous queſtion, five days and fifteen days make twenty days; and ten days ſubſequent notice to the abſent Fellows make thirty days; the whole time in many caſes, in one caſe, if the vacancy ſhould happen in the month of February, two days more than the whole time, allotted for the final concluſion of the buſineſs; taking the month for a Calendar month, the moſt favourable to your purpoſe. And can you imagine, that the Founder urging the ſociety to diſpatch, and ordering them to proceed as ſoon as conveniently may be to the buſineſs of the Election, ſhould in the ſame breath expreſsly permit them to delay the affair to no reaſonable end or purpoſe, to the very extremity of the time by himſelf allotted for the final concluſion of it?

Be pleaſed to obſerve farther, that the Founder orders the ſociety to meet together in the Chapel to treat of the day of Election, which is to be determined by a majority of the Fellows ſo met together. I aſk, are the Votes to be taken at that meeting, and the day of Election then determined: or is the conſultation only to be opened and entered upon at that meeting, and the *final* determination of it to be put off to any day within the fifteen days mentioned? If the Votes are to be then taken, and the day of Election then determined, to what pur-

purpoſe, or with what ſenſe, is there any mention at all made of fifteen days? How can the Founder conſiſtently ſay, I give you leave to talk over and conſult upon this queſtion of the day of Election for fifteen days; yet I order you to take the Votes upon it on the firſt day? If the latter is the meaning, and the conſultation is only to be opened on the firſt day, and the day of Election to be *finally* appointed and prefixed on any ſubſequent day before the fifteen days are expired, which ſenſe you would impoſe upon us; there will then be a neceſſity of at leaſt another meeting for taking the Votes, and coming to the concluſion and reſult of all this conſultation. Now pray where are the Founder's directions for any ſuch ſubſequent meeting? or by what authority without ſuch directions is the ſociety to aſſemble for this purpoſe? Did the ſociety in this laſt inſtance think themſelves at liberty to defer the fixing the day of Election to another meeting? or can you produce any example of their ſo doing? or any precedent and authority for your interpretation of this ſtatute from the practice of the College for above three Centuries and a half?

And here I muſt deſire you to attend to a ſmall circumſtance, which to be ſure eſcaped you, when you did me the favour to write to me. Your imagination was poſſeſſed with the notion of a long conſultation, reſumed at *different* meetings, and at laſt after fifteen days happily brought to a *final* concluſion. It was owing to this, I preſume, that when you were giving the interpretation of the words of the ſta-

tute, (" infra quindenam *extunc* immediate ſequen-
" tem—ſtatuant & præfigant," * " after ſuch *firſt*
" *meeting* they ſhall *finally* appoint and prefix;")
the words *firſt meeting*, and *finally*, twice ſlipt in unawares; and naturally enough, while you were endeavouring to expreſs your own ſenſe of the thing: for *firſt meeting*, implies thoſe ſeveral ſubſequent meetings on this occaſion, which you ſuppoſe; and *finally*, implies the ſeveral preceding ſteps taken, and approaches made, in thoſe different meetings, towards the laſt determination of the affair. This word offered itſelf to you, and met your eye, in the clauſe below; where *finaliter* very properly refers, in like manner, to the ſeveral Scrutinies, which may be neceſſary before the Election be cloſed. Had you obſerved this accidental addition of your own, it might have led you into the true meaning of the paſſage: for if the Founder had had the ſame notion of the thing with you, he would have expreſſed his ſenſe juſt as you have now done it for him: as he hath not done ſo, probably his ſenſe was different; and the meaning, which cannot well be expreſſed without an interpolation of the paſſage, (not that I would ſuppoſe any ſuch thing was wilfully intended in this caſe,) on this very account, excluſive of other conſiderations, may be preſumed not to be the true meaning of it.

I muſt put you in mind too of another inconvenience that attends your interpretation. You take away the words *infra quindenam* from *pro electione*

* Letter, p. 53. Advertiſement, p. iv.

faciendâ,

facienda, and join them to *ſtatuant & præfigant*, leaving the former to ſhift for themſelves, as they may. In this diſtreſs they are to ſeek for ſupport in the preceding part of the ſentence; which muſt now be conſtrued in this order: "quam electionis "diem pro electione facienda——:" a miſerable tautology, which I hope you will not inſiſt upon our imputing to Wykeham.

By this time you may perhaps begin to be not quite ſo confident of your * indiſputable interpretation; but in order to your full conviction, (for I owe you in return my beſt endeavours in this kind office) I muſt deſire you to turn to the parallel paſſage in the ſtatutes of New College: where, concerning the Election of a Warden, the ſame clauſe occurs, in the very ſame words, and thoſe in the very ſame order; except, that inſtead of the words *quindenam extunc immediate ſequentem*, the words *unum menſem extunc immediate ſequentem continue numerandum* are uſed: and accordingly the words *unum menſem* in this place are in all reaſon to be joined to and conſtrued with the ſame words in the following part of the ſentence, as the word *quindenam* is in the other place. Now, Sir, ſince you will needs have *quindenam* to be applied to the more diſtant words *ſtatuant & præfigant*, and not to the nearer words *pro electione facienda*; I deſire you would make the experiment of applying in the ſame manner the words *unum menſem* to the ſame words *ſtatuant & præfigant*: by which you will find your-

* Letter, p. 55.

ſelf

ſelf engaged in this inſuperable difficulty; that you muſt ſuppoſe the Founder to permit the ſociety to put off the fixing the day of Election to the end of the month, the whole time likewiſe allotted for finally concluding it; when there will be ſtill neceſſarily wanting twelve days more for notice to be given to the abſent Fellows.

All which conſidered, I ſhall now take leave to draw my concluſion, that your interpretation of this clauſe of the ſtatute is abſurd, inconſiſtent, and falſe.

After all perhaps you will ſtill tell me with the ſame confidence, that all this is nothing to the purpoſe; that 'tis 'a * wretched ſhift, a miſerable ſubter-'fuge, never thought of till after the appointment 'of Dr. Golding to the Headſhip.' Give me leave to tell you, Sir, as confidently, and with better authority, that you are miſinformed in this matter. The Viſitor was appriſed of this irregularity in the Election from the firſt; but as it was only a defect in point of form, ariſing, as it appeared to him, from inadvertence, and not from any ſiniſter deſign, and being in the preſent caſe of no conſequence, he would not put the invalidity of the Election upon this want of due form, (of which he would in no ſuch caſe take advantage) when he had other objections to it of greater moment: he would not even ſo much as mention the thing, leſt he ſhould ſeem at all to take ſhelter under it; as if he had

* Letter, p. 17, 19, 50, 51.

any

any miſtruſt of his deciſion, which was founded on the moſt important reaſons, and which he choſe to reſt on that foundation only. He had a nobler end in view, than barely to vacate a ſingle Election by diſcovering an incidental flaw in it: his purpoſe was, totally to remove a capital and inherent defect, which had diſgraced all the later, and threatened all future Elections; to extirpate a dangerous and inveterate evil, ſo as for ever to preclude its return; to reſtore to the Founder's ſtatutes the power, which he had given them, and which they had in a great degree loſt, the power of executing themſelves. This could only be effected by ſuch meaſures, as ſhould operate in all future times and ſeaſons; by a Deciſion, which being built on ſure and durable grounds, would for ever ſtand good, and be of conſtant uſe and permanent example. But however this might have been, I ſhould not have thought it at all beſide my purpoſe, to place in its true light, and to reſcue from your falſe gloſſes and miſconſtructions, this clauſe of the Statute, upon which I apprehend the validity of every future Election will depend.

And therefore for the farther clearing up of this matter, I ſhall endeavour to trace out the Founder's train of thinking, and his particular view in forming this Statute. He had before given his directions to his College at Oxford, for their proceeding in the Election of their Warden, to this effect: The next day after the vacancy is known, meet together in order to fix the day of Election: uſe all con-

convenient diſpatch in the buſineſs, fixing it to any day within *a month* from that time; only taking care, on the one hand, to put it off ſo long, that the abſent Fellows may have *twelve* days notice of the day ſo fixed; and, on the other hand, to bring it on ſo forward, that ſufficient time may be left for the Election's being finally concluded within the month. When he came afterward to tranſcribe this Statute, in order to direct the like proceeding in the Election of the Warden of Wincheſter College, it occurred to him, that the diſtance of that College from the place of Election made ſome difference in the caſe; that ſome days would be taken up in ſending notice in form of the Vacancy from one College to the other; and perhaps he might think it better at the ſame time to expreſs himſelf more particularly in ſome parts, in which his intention was ſtill the ſame. If this was the caſe, the latter Statute may be looked upon, partly as newly accommodated to a different caſe; partly as more clearly explaining, and more preciſely determining, the ſame deſign, expreſſed in general terms before. Accordingly he adds ſome farther limitation of the time in one point, and alters it in another; to this effect: The next day after you have received notice in form of the Vacancy, meet together in order to fix the day of Election: uſe all convenient diſpatch in the buſineſs, fixing it to any day within *fifteen days* from that time; only taking care, on the one hand, to put it off ſo long, that the abſent Fellows may have *ten* days notice of the day ſo fixed; on the other hand bringing it on ſo forward,

ward, that the Election may be finally concluded within a month from the time when the Vacancy was known in Winchester College. By these orders, there is only a latitude of five days given for the choice of the day of Election; a latitude sufficient to all intents and purposes; the utmost extent of which brings it to about two thirds of the whole time allowed for the final conclusion of the affair: which gives sufficient and proper time for many repeated Scrutinies, which may happen to be necessary, and may take up some days: for I see no expression in either of the Statutes for the Election of a Warden, which requires, that the Scrutinies should immediately succeed one another without intermission or delay; or that restrains the whole process of the affair to a single day, or a single meeting. If the Society cannot agree in their choice in the space of a week or ten days, it may then be right to take it out of their hands: but it seems altogether unreasonable, to allow fifteen days for deliberation on the choice of the day of Election, when that allowance will leave no room for the much more important deliberation on the choice of the person to be elected, which it may be necessary more than once to resume, and to enter upon anew; to suffer them on such an idle pretence to put off the Election to the very last day, and at the same time to adjudge their right of Election forfeited, if in that day, perhaps that part of a day, the majority of the whole number assembled do not agree in their nomination of one person.

It

It having, I preſume, been ſufficiently proved, that the late Election was unſtatutable in reſpect of the qualification of the perſon elected, and irregular in point of form; it remains to be ſhewn, that the practice of Electing in that manner is contrary to the Founder's plain deſign and intention, and in its conſequences detrimental to both Societies.

The rules which the Founder hath given for the interpretation of his Statutes, are in the firſt place, the plain litteral and grammatical ſenſe of each Statute; and ſecondly, the force and effect, the tenor and exigence, of his Statutes in general, and his Intention in any manner clearly diſcoverable. It hath been fully proved, that the Warden of New College, as ſuch, is abſolutely diſqualified to be elected Warden of Wincheſter College by the plain litteral and grammatical ſenſe of the Statute; let us now conſider, whether he is not likewiſe excluded by the tenor and exigence of all the Statutes, and the plain intention of the Founder.

Now the intention of the Founder as to this point can admit of no doubt, if we will but conſider the general deſign purſued through his Statutes, and his whole plan of Legiſlation.

Wykeham eſtabliſhed two Societies; diſtinct from each other, but not independent one of another: the end propoſed was in both the ſame, the advancement of religion and learning; but it was to be

be attained in different degrees, and by different means, riſing in a regular ſcale continued through both. The one was made ſubordinate to the other, as in uſe and deſign, ſo likewiſe in government and diſcipline: his chief aim was a conſtant progreſſion of improvement, and to ſupport it he conſtituted a regular gradation of authority. He gave to each of them a body of Laws, by which they were reſpectively to be governed; different, as far as the different nature of each Society required, but tending to the ſame point, correſponding perfectly, and tallying with each other. And to ſecure the obſervance of theſe Laws, he appointed a Superior inſpecting power over each Society; theſe likewiſe different and ſubordinate one to the other, the better to attain the end propoſed. His Superior College he placed immediately under the inſpection of his Succeſſors the Biſhops of Wincheſter; he made them local and final Viſitors of that College; and in order to do ſo, he procured, as was neceſſary, an exemption of it from the juriſdiction of the Ordinary, at that time the Biſhop of Lincoln. He permitted the Biſhops of Wincheſter, as Viſitors by his eſpecial appointment, to hold a Viſitation of that College once in every two years, and not oftener; unleſs requeſted by common conſent, or by the Warden and certain other officers, or by twelve of the Seniors, of the College; thus limiting the power he conferred, but by ſuch permiſſion intimating a deſire, that it might be as frequent as occaſion might demand; that his College, as a great

Succeſſor

Succeſſor * of his hath expreſſed it, might not 'long 'continue deſtitute of the ſolace of Viſitation.' His Inferior College he ſubjected to the immediate care and inſpection of his Superior College; commanding, that this Viſitation ſhould be exerciſed every year. And with regard to this College he hath given no directions for the Biſhop of Wincheſter's Viſitation; nor hath he given him any authority, or at all conſidered him, as local and final Viſitor; otherwiſe, than as through the intermediate viſitation exerciſed by the other College, the power in the laſt reſort may be conveyed to him, as final Viſitor of that College. The Ordinary Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of Wincheſter he hath left as he found it: he hath not taken it away by procuring for his College an exemption from it; and without this, it was not in his power to alter it; either to extend, or to reſtrain it. The College of Wincheſter therefore is ſubject to the † Ordinary Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of Wincheſter; and in conſequence, to that of his Vicar General in the abſence of the Biſhop; of the Guardian of the Spiritualties in the vacancy of the See; of the Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury in his Metropolitical Viſitation, or by appeal to him from the Juriſdiction of the Dioceſan; and of the Court of Delegates by

* William of Waynflete.

† See "The Plea of the Fellows of Wincheſter College "againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter's Local and Final Viſitato- "rial Power over the ſaid College:" (London 1711:) where this point is proved at large beyond all poſſibility of contradiction.

Appeal

'Appeal from the Juriſdiction of the Metropolitan: all, by common right, and in due courſe of law, and not by the Founder's appointment. And to no power is it ſubjected immediately and by his appointment, but to that of the Superviſors of New College. As to the exerciſe of the former Juriſdiction, the time, manner, form, or extent of it, he hath given no directions; for he had no right or power to give any: 'twas upon the due exerciſe of the latter, that he depended for the maintenance and enforcement of good-government and diſcipline in this College, which is equally neceſſary to the well-being of both, and is the true and only ſource of health and vigour to the whole eſtabliſhment. He hath accordingly given full directions concerning it; hath ordered it to be annually exerciſed; hath made it the main and principal buſineſs of thoſe officers, whom he hath annually deputed hither. For it is owing to the perfunctory manner, in which this important duty hath been performed in our times, of which almoſt the ceremony, the empty form and ſhadow, even the very name itſelf, hath been loſt, that we commonly look upon the buſineſs of Election to be the only one which engages them there: the Founder appears to have had quite another notion of it; he ſpeaks always of the Superviſion as the firſt and principal buſineſs, and of the Election as only a ſecondary concern. The title of the Statute is to this effect: "Of the time and manner of the Superviſion and "Scrutiny to be made in our College near Win-"ton, and of the Election of Scholars from the

" ſame to the College of Oxford." So in that of Wincheſter College: " Of the Election of Scho-" lars into our College near Winton at the time of " the Superviſion of the ſame." So likewiſe in the Statute itſelf, after having given at large the directions concerning the Superviſion and Scrutiny; " At which time of Superviſion and Scrutiny, we " will, that *if* the whole number of Scholars and " Fellows in our College of Oxford ſhould be di-" miniſhed,——*then* the ſaid Superviſors, together " with the Warden, Sub-Warden, and School-" Maſter of Wincheſter College, immediately af-" ter ſuch Superviſion and Scrutiny, ſhall examine " and elect——." The Founder always calls the office, and the buſineſs of it in general, the Superviſion, and not the Election; and the Officers the Superviſors, and not the Electors; from the principal and moſt important part of their office: unleſs he hath occaſion to ſpeak particularly of the other part, and in contradiſtinction to the former. And in this office the Warden of New College takes the lead; he is the principal Agent; he is indeed the only one from whom any real and effectual ſervice in it can be expected. You ſay, * " he " exerciſes this power only in conjunction with the " two Poſers, or annual Electors," (by your leave, the two annual Superviſors;) " which makes a " wide difference, if not a total alteration in the " caſe." What, muſt the Warden then expect always to be thwarted by theſe his aſſociates, who

* Letter, p. 37.

are

are changed every year, and ordinarily bear this office but once in their lives? Will the two Fellows in conſtant ſucceſſion always ſet their faces againſt their Governor, in a buſineſs not relating immediately to themſelves, or their own College? Hath a Warden ordinarily no influence with his Fellows? have the Fellows commonly no regard or deference to their Warden? Do you think to perſuade us of this, when we have had ſo ſignal an inſtance of the contrary; when we have ſo lately ſeen them content, with their eyes open, to hazard the loſs of their right of Election of a Warden of Wincheſter College, in pure complaiſance to their own Warden? It is on the contrary rather ſurpriſing, that the Founder, if he intended to curb and reſtrain his chief Officer in the execution of the power, with which he had entruſted him, ſhould do it ſo weakly and ineffectually; that he ſhould throw into the oppoſite ſcale only two annually elected Fellows, againſt the weight of a perpetual Warden. But in truth he did not intend to reſtrain and to curb him: the buſineſs he ſends him upon is arduous and difficult; it requires forecaſt, experience, diſcernment of times and ſeaſons, caution in undertaking, and a vigorous, a free, and impartial exertion of power in executing: he did not ſuppoſe, that every annual officer would of himſelf and upon his own bottom ſet up for a reformer, and that every new-comer would bring with him a new ſcheme of reformation; much leſs, that they would always in conjunction obſtruct the buſineſs, which they were commiſſioned to pro-

mote: he meant them as ſeconds, not principals; as aſſiſtants, not opponents. The addition then of theſe two annual officers in conjunction with the Warden makes not ſuch a wide difference, much leſs a total alteration, in the caſe. It is plain, that the Founder muſt have depended chiefly, and almoſt intirely, upon his Warden of New College, for the vigorous and effectual exertion of the coercive power over the other Warden and College. He might be ſure, that nothing could ever be done in it without his concurrence; and that with his earneſt endeavours every thing, in due time, and as favourable occaſion offered, might be done. But what could he expect from his Warden of New College, or how could he at all depend upon him in this important buſineſs, if he permitted him to look upon himſelf as heir apparent to the Wardenſhip of Winchester College? if he deſigned, that his chief Viſitor ſhould always live in proſpect of being himſelf ſubject to that very Viſitatorial power, with which he had inveſted him? Muſt he not ſee, that it would hurt his modeſty, to exerciſe his authority upon the man, who was lately his own governor? that it would hurt his intereſt, to reform the abuſes of the office, which he hoped to enjoy? that it would hurt his peace, to embroil himſelf with the Society, over which he hoped to preſide? Could a perſon of the Founder's prudence and ſagacity intend, that his chief Viſitor ſhould lie under ſo many temptations not to exert the power, which he had put into his hands; or deſign ſo abſurd a thing, as to make a man a check upon himſelf?

Again;

Again; The Founder, in forming the eſtabliſhment of each of his Wardens, hath made a very great and remarkable difference between them in point of revenue, ſtate, and dignity. To the one, he hath allotted an annual ſtipend of forty pounds; to the other twenty pounds only: to the one a ſeparate manſe, and houſehold; to the other a ſingle apartment, and meals in the common refectory: to the one ſix horſes; to the other but two; with ſervants and attendants in proportion. Now how ſhall we account for this wide difference made between theſe two Collegues in office? is it founded in the different nature of the two offices, conſidered ſeparately and in themſelves? in the circumſtances, condition, and importance of each? or in the different nature of the two Societies, and the inequality between them in point of number, revenues, and conſideration? Whatever diſproportion there may ſeem to be between them in ſome of theſe reſpects, it can never ſurely be rated ſo high, as to anſwer the caſe propoſed, and to ſolve the queſtion ariſing upon it. And the Founder ſeems not at all to have conſidered the thing in this light: on the contrary he himſelf ſpeaks expreſsly of his two Colleges, as ſtanding upon an equal footing; he * inſiſts much upon 'the identity of origin, the ſimi-'litude of deſign, the parity of number, and the 'equality of title, in both:' why then, I aſk again, did he make ſuch a diſparity in the ſtate and condition of the two Governors? For this plain reaſon; becauſe he had made the one the Superviſor and Cenſor of the other; with a coercive power

* Statut. Coll. Oxon. Rubr. 4.

over him, a power of inquiring, reforming, and puniſhing. He ſaw the abſurdity of inveſting a man with ſuch a power over another, whom at the ſame time he ſhould make in all other reſpects his equal; much more, if he ſhould make him in any reſpect his ſuperior. Therefore the Subordination of government, which he had ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed between his two Colleges, was the ſole meaſure and ſtandard, by which he regulated the different ſtate and condition of the two Governors. And the diſparity, which he hath made in the condition of the two Governors, gives us the true proportion and meaſure of that Subordination, according to his idea and original deſign. Now to ſuffer the Superior to deſcend to the place of the Inferior; to make the Viſitor, of courſe and by conſtant retrogradation, the Succeſſor of the Viſited; is to invert his plan, and to counteract his deſign: it is moſt effectually to deſtroy his whole Syſtem of diſcipline, by diſordering the main ſpring, deſigned to put the machine in motion; and by diſplacing the principal wheels, deſigned to regulate the motion, and to continue it through all the parts.

Farther; the Founder hath ordered that his College in Oxford ſhall be under the direction of one ſuperior perpetual Officer, with the title of Warden; who ſhall preſide over all the members of it, ſhall rule, govern, correct, puniſh, and chaſtiſe them, according as his ſtatutes ſhall require. But being by no means a friend to arbitrary power, he hath taken care ſo to moderate and reſtrain the authority which he hath given him, by making the con-

concurrence of other officers in many caſes neceſſary to the execution of it, that there ſhould be no danger of its being abuſed and carried to an exceſs. Indeed he ſometimes ſeems fearful, leſt he may have puſhed this caution too far, and too much weakened the hands of his chief officer. He * hath expreſſed his apprehenſions, that his Warden, notwithſtanding all the power and preeminence he hath given him, might at times find his authority inſufficient to inflict ſtatutable puniſhments on delinquents. He † hath likewiſe expreſſed his apprehenſions, that his Fellows might be tempted to unite and confederate againſt their Warden. Let me aſk therefore, whether a power lodged with the Fellows of obliging or diſobliging their Warden in a moſt eſſential inſtance doth not tend ſtill farther to weaken the authority of the Warden, and to render a combination of delinquents ſtill more formidable? Whether it be not a very dangerous weapon in the hands of mutinous diſpoſitions, eaſily to be managed to advantage, but not eaſily to be parried or withſtood? Whether the Warden doth not ſwear, ‡ that he will adminiſter diſcipline, and inflict puniſhments, without regard to intreaty, reward, affection, fear, or diſlike? But whether any governor, who depends on his Fellows for a good preferment, can anſwer for himſelf, that he will not entertain a kindneſs for thoſe, who are inclined to favour him; and a dread and diſlike of thoſe, who have power and inclination to thwart him in

* Rubr. 9. † Rubr. 7. ‡ Rubr. 9.

his views? Whether hope and fear are not natural, and in themſelves innocent paſſions? Whether the beſt men do not frequently act from motives of obligation and reſentment? Whether it be not the natural tendency of temptations to change very good men into very bad ones? Conſequently, whether the Founder did not intend to prevent and withdraw all temptations to thoſe enormities, of which he hath expreſsly forbidden the commiſſion? and whether the Warden of New College's capacity of ſucceeding to the Wardenſhip of Wincheſter College be not ſuch a temptation, both to himſelf, and to others?

But all this ſort of reaſoning you have already obviated and confuted: "There * are *many* ho-"neſt men, who will dare to prefer their duty to "their intereſt; who will bravely maintain the in-"tegrity of their characters, under greater temp-"tations than can be ſuppoſed, even in the caſe "before us." Very true; I doubt not but there are: but will all do ſo? will they do ſo always? will they generally do ſo? will they not rather *ſometimes* do otherwiſe? I am forced to be cautious in my expreſſion, for fear you ſhould call me † "baſe "and ungenerous." However, would it not be acting more prudently, more ſafely, more charitably, to remove a great temptation out of a man's way, when no harm or inconvenience will follow from ſo doing; than to lay it in his way, on pur-

* Letter, p. 33, 34. † See Letter, p. 38.

poſe

poſe to try, tho' with manifeſt hazard to himſelf and to others, whether he will not bravely overcome it? But ſtill, 'as for your part, you can ſee 'no reaſon why a Governor under ſuch circum-'ſtances may not hold the reins of Government 'as he ought; nay, you cannot ſee how he can 'well do otherwiſe; his reputation, his intereſt, 'good policy, requires it: for the Governor, who 'forms and maintains well his ſcheme of govern-'ment, can ſcarce ever fail of gaining the eſteem 'and affection of thoſe, over whom he preſides; 'and of ſecuring the favour of thoſe, *on whom he* '*depends*. By a contrary conduct he muſt be ſure 'to incur hatred, reproach, contempt, and ſcorn; 'whereas ſcarce any one has been ever known to 'ſuffer in his popularity, or his intereſt, by ſup-'porting diſcipline.' This is very fine, and very much * "to the honour of human nature:" it may be very right in ſpeculation; I wiſh it were as true in practice. It might do in Utopia, or the Republic of Plato; but *in fæce Romuli*, "in this ſel-"fiſh and corrupt age," I am afraid, it will hardly be ſafe to truſt to it. Thoſe Legiſlators, who have framed laws for real uſe and practice, ſeem to have gone upon quite different principles: they look upon it as a matter of great difficulty, to make men do as they ought; ſo far are they from ſuppoſing, that they cannot well do otherwiſe. Altho' favour, eſteem, and affection, invite them; tho' reputation, good policy, and real intereſt, re-

* See Letter, p. 33.

quire

quire it of them; they hold all theſe motives inſufficient; they never fail to add ſanctions of another kind; pains and penalties, to enforce, and to ſecure, obedience. In ſhort, they ſeem to have entertained ſuſpicions of the depravity of human nature: by which, you may think they have betrayed their own baſe, ungenerous, and bad hearts; others have thought, that they have rather given proof of their wiſdom, experience, and knowledge of mankind. Wykeham certainly proceeded upon the ſame principles: if he had thought, that every one would of courſe do his duty, whatever temptations might be in the way to divert him from it, that even he could not well do otherwiſe; why ſo much unneceſſary care taken to oblige him, ſuch labour of invention, ſuch ſollicitous contrivance of means to compel him, to do it? why ſo many ſuperfluous ſanctions to enforce the obſervance of his ſtatutes; penalties, oaths, and the moſt ſolemn adjurations? It is true, to do as one ought muſt be, upon the whole, and rightly conſidered, every man's real intereſt: but men are very apt not to ſee, or to miſtake, their real intereſt. Every man, for inſtance, may not ſee as clearly as you do, that a vigorous exertion of authority, and the maintenance of ſtrict diſcipline, are the plain and certain roads to favour and popularity: it will perhaps be more commonly thought, that there is a nearer and ſurer way to the ſame end; and that too the very contrary to the former. Real and apparent intereſt very often widely differ; and 'tis the latter that is

the great motive of action. The only effectual way of ſecuring the obſervance of Laws, is to contrive matters ſo, as that apparent intereſt and duty may coincide. But to make apparent intereſt always ſtand in oppoſition to duty; to lay temptations in a man's way the moſt likely to miſlead him; this is ſuch a Soleciſm in Politics, as no wiſe Legiſlator could ever have committed, or can be ſuppoſed to approve or to tolerate, if it ſhould chance to have been afterward introduced into his ſyſtem. And ſuch is the caſe of a Warden of New College, looking upon himſelf as ſucceſſor to the Wardenſhip of Wincheſter College by the favour of his Fellows: a great temptation is laid in his way; his apparent intereſt, the ſecuring the favour of his Fellows, will often ſtand oppoſed to his duty. Beſides that he may perhaps conſider himſelf only as a paſſenger, a ſojourner for a ſhort ſeaſon, and ſo may not be very ſollicitous and earneſt in forming at all his ſcheme of government, from which he may hope to be releaſed, before it can be perfectly formed; is his ſcheme of government, in theſe circumſtances, likely ever to be well formed? is it likely ever to be well maintained? The inſinuating addreſs of the polite Panegyriſt is the language beſt ſuited to his ſituation: "Ego Reverentiæ veſtræ ſic ſemper inſerviam, non ut me "Conſulem, ſed Candidatum Conſulatûs, putem." And ſurely a perpetual Candidate is not the moſt promiſing ſubject to be wrought up into a ſteady Diſciplinarian. In ſhort, I appeal to you and to

all

all that have been acquainted with this ſociety, whether it hath not been a common obſervation, and a received opinion, at leaſt ſo long as you and I remember any thing of it; that the Conſtitution of it was in this reſpect greatly unfavourable to Diſcipline. The defect was charged upon the Conſtitution; whereas it appears to have been chargeable, not on the conſtitution as the Founder eſtabliſhed it, but on the ſubverſion of that conſtitution by a miſtaken and unwarrantable practice.

If what I have ſaid have any truth in it, it follows, that the late practice, of electing the Warden of New College to be Warden of Wincheſter College, was contrary to the Founder's plain deſign and intention, and in its conſequences detrimental to both ſocieties; that it was not merely unſtatutable, but deſtructive of the Founder's whole ſyſtem of government, and, as far as the breach of any one article could be, ſubverſive of all the ſtatutes of both his Colleges.

But it is ſtill alledged, that * the Viſitor could not ſet aſide the late Election, without acting inconſiſtently with himſelf, and in contradiction to his own prior determination: and that having confirmed the Election of Dr. Coxed, in which the caſe was the very ſame and liable to the ſame objections, he was obliged by his own act to confirm that of Dr. Purnell likewiſe. That is, a man,

* See Letter, p. 29, &c.

having

having once committed a miſtake, for want of proper information, is under an obligation of perſiſting in the ſame miſtake, after that he hath been better informed. I wonder I have not been told, that I had approved of the Election of Dr. Coxed; nay, that I was one of thoſe who elected him; and that therefore I was obliged by my own act to approve of the Election of Dr. Purnell, which I muſt own to be equally regular, as to the principal point in diſpute; and that in declaring my diſapprobation of it, I acted inconſiſtently with myſelf. Very true, according to this notion of conſiſtency of action; but I do not pretend to act always thus conſiſtently: to act thus conſiſtently, one muſt either be free from error, or reſolve to be obſtinate in it. I would rather endeavour to act always according to the beſt of my preſent judgement and knowledge: and in this caſe, if I had delivered an opinion, conſiſtent with my former opinion, I ſhould have acted inconſiſtently with reaſon, duty, and conſcience.

But ſuppoſing the Viſitor was at liberty to change his opinion, yet * he was certainly obliged to ſignify this to the College before-hand, and to warn them not to fall again into the ſame miſtake. This you ſay is unanſwerable: however I will venture to conſider it. A doubt ariſes about the meaning of a College Statute. It is propoſed to the Viſitor and to the College, in the ſame manner, and at the ſame time; and the Viſitor knows, that it is propoſed to the College, as well as to himſelf. The Viſitor and the College are both in the ſame ſtate:

* See Letter, p. 19, 20, 58, &c.

they

they had on a former occaſion, in which this doubt did not at all occur, acted rather upon the authority of precedent, than upon a ſtrict inquiry into the ſtate of the caſe: the College elected as they, for ſome time paſt, uſed to do; the Viſitor confirmed the Election, as his predeceſſors had done. The doubt being afterward propoſed, they are both of them equally obliged in point of conſcience maturely to conſider the queſtion, and to examine it carefully and impartially, in order to come to a right determination upon it, and to act properly and from a well-informed judgement, when the ſame caſe ſhall come again before the College, as it certainly muſt; and, as it may alſo happen, before the ſame Viſitor. But obſerve, that the College is to determine upon it firſt: it will be time enough for the Viſitor, whoever he may be, to come to his determination afterward, when the caſe is brought properly and in due courſe before him. Now why, ſay you, does not the Viſitor give the College previous notice of his opinion in the caſe? and why, ſay I, does not the College rather apply to the Viſitor, and deſire his opinion upon it? If this conſideration does not already ſettle the matter between us, I do not know any way of coming to an agreement upon it, but by having recourſe to the Founder's directions, if he hath given any in ſuch caſes. The College is obliged to act in conformity with thoſe directions; and the Viſitor hath no authority to interpoſe, but in conſequence of ſuch directions, and agreeably to them. Now the directions which the Founder gives any wiſe relating to ſuch matters

are

are theſe: * he permits the Biſhop of Wincheſter to hold a general Viſitation of his College, and to inquire how the Statutes in every point and article have been obſerved, as often as he ſhall think proper, provided it be not oftener than once in two years; or whenever he ſhall be requeſted ſo to do by the Warden together with certain officers, or by twelve of the Seniors, or by common conſent of the College. At the ſame time he declares, that he gives no power to the Viſitor in any thing, beyond what is contained in this Statute about the general Viſitation, and in the other Statutes; but does on the contrary expreſsly take it away. Farther, in ſome particular caſes of importance, he orders them to have recourſe to the Viſitor for his deciſion: but in no particular caſe does the Founder give the Viſitor authority to interpoſe with his opinion or otherwiſe, unleſs applied to by the Society, or unleſs the caſe be in any other manner brought before him in due courſe and proper form. He was in the higheſt degree jealous of all interpoſition of this kind: he would not expreſsly truſt any one with the power of interpreting his Statutes; he choſe rather to charge it in the moſt ſolemn manner upon the conſciences of all perſons concerned, that they ſhould act religiouſly according to his plain directions; and to leave doubtful points to take their courſe, as he had conſtituted a power, to whoſe deciſion they muſt at laſt be referred. This method of proceeding on the part of the College, of conſulting the Viſitor in doubtful caſes; and this notion of the

* Rubr. 67.

limi-

limitation of the power of the Viſitor, unconſulted; is not only countenanced by Statute, but is even confirmed by, what may have more weight with you, Uſage and Practice: the College hath always aſſerted it; it hath been allowed on the part of the Viſitor. If I am rightly informed, this method was propoſed to the Warden, before the late Election, in the caſe we are treating of; a requeſt was made to him by ſome of the Society, that he would join with them in conſulting the Viſitor upon the doubt, and in deſiring his judgement of the ſenſe of the Statute: for a doubt it certainly was then, tho' now all, it ſeems, are clearly of your opinion. The Warden refuſed; very prudently, for his caſe required it; he had nothing to do, but to get himſelf elected, and then to maintain the validity of the Election, as well as he could: the Society acquieſced; very complaiſantly, out of pure reſpect and reverence for their Governor. As to the Viſitor's conceſſion, tho' at preſent I have little opportunity of conſulting Viſitatorial Injunctions, yet I happen to have one at hand, and that of as good authority as any can be, being confirmed by the joint and unanimous conſent and ſubſcription of the Electors of both Colleges, in which this matter is clearly and fully expreſſed.* "Cum multæ quæſtiones & contro-
"verſiæ ortæ fuerint de tempore Superviſionis &
"Scrutinii in tertia Rubrica ſpecificato, —— idcir-
"co D. Epiſcopus Winton. *facta ei prius legitima*
"*intimatione* per Cuſtodem & duos Socios Supervi-

* Appendix to the Life of Wykeham, No. xii.

"ſores

" fores legitime electos ejuſdem Collegii in Oxon. " Statutiſq; Superviſionem concernentibus — eidem " Dno. Epiſcopo oſtenſis & declaratis, declaravit " hunc eſſe verum germanum & literalem ſenſum " verborum & clauſulæ præfatorum :" —— Theſe words plainly imply the Viſitor's acknowledgement, that without ſuch legitimate or ſtatutable intimation of the doubt about the ſenſe of the ſtatute, he ſhould have had no right of interpoſing his previous opinion in this particular caſe; there being no appeal to him from any perſon aggrieved, nor himſelf holding a General Viſitation, wherein he might examine into any matters whatſoever, and enter upon and decide any queſtion relating to the ſtate of the College, and the obſervation of the Statutes. This being the true ſtate of this matter, we will ſuppoſe, that the Viſitor had before the late Election, of his own motion, ſent a meſſage to the College to this effect: Gentlemen, A Paper hath hath been ſent to me, as I know it hath to ſo many of you, that hardly any one of you can be unacquainted with it, ſtating the late practice of your College, in electing your Warden to the Wardenſhip of Wincheſter College, as unſtatutable. I was not before appriſed of this objection to your practice; as neither, I ſuppoſe, were you. I have carefully examined your Founder's Statutes upon this ſubject, and maturely weighed the caſe; as you to be ſure have done. I am ſtrictly obliged to act in it uprightly and conſcientiouſly according to the beſt of my judgement, if ever it ſhould come be-

fore me; you are at leaſt under equal obligation ſo to do. For my part, I think your practice hath been wrong; probably you may now think ſo too: but whatever you may think, I give you fair warning, and declare to you before-hand, 'that if ſuch vacancy ſhould happen in my time, and you ſhould elect your Warden, I ſhall not confirm the Election. How would ſuch a declaration have been received? would any one have been hurt by it? would there have been any complaint of the Viſitor's undue exertion of his power? of his interpoſing, where the Founder had given him no authority to interpoſe? of his interpoſing in an affair of the greateſt importance, and in which of all others they ought to be moſt jealous of all foreign interpoſition? of his controlling their right, and abridging their freedom, of Election? of his attempting to prejudice and over-awe them by the menace of his future deciſion * "in an affair, of "which, as a matter of conſcience or expediency, they "themſelves were the only proper judges," and with which he had certainly as yet nothing to do? of his endeavouring, by ſuch irregular and inſidious application to them, to lead them into a ſnare, and to put them upon doing that, which perhaps in the regular and open execution of his truſt, notwithſtanding his menaces, he would not dare to do himſelf, for fear of incurring the † reproaches of the world? The diſappointment, to ſome perſons at leaſt, would have been equal; the complaint from that quarter as grievous; the murmur and diſcon-

* Letter, p. 22. † See Letter, p. 31, 32.

to the same; with this difference only, that in that case it would have been well founded; whereas in the present case it hath no just foundation at all.

II. I proceed to shew, secondly, That the Visitor, in the place of the person unfortunately elected, substituted another person in all respects properly qualified, without regard to any private interest or affection of his own, or to any recommendation or solicitation of others; but solely with a view to the satisfaction, welfare, and credit of the Societies concerned.

Mr. Golding was the person on whom the Visitor's choice fell. I suppose you will not deny, that he was a person duly and unquestionably qualified according to the Founder's Description; you will hardly deny, that he was eminently so qualified: it will therefore be time enough for me to enter into the particulars of that description, and to examine his qualifications by it, when you shall be pleased to name any other person, among all those to whom it may belong, who more fully and perfectly answers it. But you may perhaps say, that tho' the person chosen may happen to be duly, and even eminently, qualified, yet if other causes, if private regards, if favour, affection, or any interested motives whatever, have determined the choice, it may still be liable to great objection. Let us then consider the Visitor's conduct in this light, and see whether the circumstances of it may

not render it ſuſpicious. And in examining it I ſhall particularly make uſe of one or two Topics, which * you have ſuggeſted to me. Was Mr. Golding then 'a Relation or Creature' of the Viſitor's? This ſurely you will not affirm. Had he any the moſt diſtant connection with any one who was ſo? or was he even known to any ſuch Relation or Creature of the Viſitor's, or to the Viſitor himſelf? The Biſhop of Wincheſter had indeed ſeen him twice; in a caſual viſit of mere form, which common reſpect to him as Viſitor had made proper, and cuſtom had made neceſſary; on Mr. Golding's leaving the Kingdom to be abſent for ſome time; and again on his return. This I have been informed of, and I believe it to be true; but whether his Lordſhip remembered it, or not, at ſuch a diſtance of time, I cannot ſay. But might not theſe perſonal interviews have been cultivated and improved into an intereſt, by Mr. Golding's unknown connection with ſome unknown Relation or Creature of the Viſitor? or by ſome Friend, or Great Perſon, who might have conſiderable influence, and ſollicit for him? I have His Lordſhip's authority to declare, that no ſollicitation whatever was ever made to him, either directly or indirectly, by any perſon whatſoever, in behalf of Mr. Golding. He had no other recommendation, than his diſtinguiſhed character, and the eminence of his merits. He made not his way to the Viſitor, nor did others make it for him: the Viſitor ſought him

* Letter, p. 45.

out,

out, and wherever he had been, it had not been difficult to find him. But may not the Viſitor have been tempted 'to deviate a little from the rule of 'equity in Complaiſance to a Party?' might not a regard for this kind of merit ſeem to juſtify 'a 'little iniquity,' eſpecially when it had otherwiſe ſo 'plauſible' an appearance? Alas! this was the only merit, which Mr. Golding had not to plead. He never had the ambition or the opportunity of acquiring it. He had no vote in the Univerſity, or the County; and he was much too wiſe a man to enter himſelf a volunteer in noiſy and impertinent faction, to which he could not pretend any call. He contented himſelf with the humble and thankleſs merit of a quiet and good ſubject, and of a peaceable and ſtudious Academic. He was one of thoſe few, whoſe known candor and integrity give them the ſingular privilege of thinking as they pleaſe without moleſtation, and of avoiding diſſenſion without giving offence. With the great Demerit of being no Party-man, by the acknowledged probity of his character, the unaffected openneſs of his heart, and the amiable ſimplicity of his manners, he gained the eſteem and affection even of the prejudiced and the violent in oppoſite ſentiments.

. . . . . .

The Viſitor therefore could not be determined in his choice by thoſe conſiderations, which you ſeem to think are moſt likely to bias one in his ſituation. You might eaſily have accounted for it in another manner. You might have ſuppoſed;

that great abilities, ſolid and extenſive learning, long-experienced diligence and addreſs in the care and inſtruction of youth, with every moral qualification, had ſome weight with him: that a regard for the welfare and credit of the Society over which he placed him, that at leaſt a deſire of doing credit to his own choice, had ſome influence; that even the ſatisfaction of the other Society, which might be apt to think itſelf aggrieved, was conſulted, by fixing upon the perſon, whom many of that Society had deſigned for their own governor, in caſe the vacancy had been made; to whom many more had the higheſt obligations, for his kind and affectionate treatment of them, as well as his conſtancy and perſeverance in the diſcharge of his duty towards them, as their Tutor: whom moſt would have named ſecond to their own friend; whom none would have diſapproved of in either ſtation, had he been but placed there by the choice of their brethren, tho' in oppoſition to their own endeavours. There is but one perſon to whom I need make any apology for having ſaid ſo much on this ſubject; and my excuſe muſt be, tho' I am afraid it will hardly be accepted, that you have laid me under the neceſſity of doing it. I think you will not contradict me in any one article of what I have here advanced, ſubſcribing your Name: you dare not do it; you dare not ſo far riſk your own reputation.

III. If what I have hither to ſaid be at all to the purpoſe, it will be needleſs for me to go about to prove

in

in form my third Propoſition; That the Viſitor's proceedings were exactly agreeable to the Founder's plain directions in his Statutes; to his views, deſign, and end; and to his own manner of acting as Patron of his Colleges, as far as it may be preſumed or collected.

For if the late Election was unſtatutable and irregular, you will not deny, that in conſequence of it the Viſitor acted agreeably to the Founder's plain directions; * you have allowed, that in this caſe the Viſitor may appoint a Warden by his own authority: if I have rightly explained the Founder's views, deſign, and end, you will not deny, that the Viſitor hath acted agreeably to them: if the Viſitor hath acted uprightly, and without any regards to private affection or intereſt, and with no other view, but to the credit, welfare, and good government of both the Colleges, you will not deny, that he hath acted agreeably to the Founder's manner of acting; for ſo we may fairly preſume, that He would have acted in the like caſe.

But in order to explain myſelf a little more particularly, ſince you have thus taken me to taſk, and to open more at large the full meaning of my expreſſion, I muſt beg leave to inform you, as far as I can, what the Founder's manner of acting in theſe caſes was. And I fancy, by this time you will be glad to be relieved by a ſhort paſſage of

* Letter, p. 53, 54.

Hiſtory; and the more ſo, if it be not quite ſo much to the purpoſe, as ſome conſiderations of another kind, upon which I have already inſiſted.

Wykeham, as long as his Colleges continued as it were in a ſtate of minority, not as yet perfectly formed and well eſtabliſhed, reſerved to himſelf the appointment of a Warden. This method he continued with regard to his younger College at Wincheſter, as long as he lived; and with regard to his elder College at Oxford likewiſe, till the beginning of the year 1396. He * had promoted Dr. Thomas Cranlegh to the Wardenſhip of Wincheſter College; and † removed him afterward from thence to the Wardenſhip of New College. I mention this, that you may add it, if you pleaſe, to thoſe other precedents of this kind, which ‡ you have produced; for it is juſt as much to your purpoſe, as any of them; if not more ſo, as being the Founder's own act. But be pleaſed to obſerve, that in this inſtance he promoted the Inferior Warden: you will find no inſtance of his having degraded the Superior. On the reſignation of Dr. Cranlegh, he permitted his College at Oxford for the firſt time to proceed to the Election of their Warden; and gave them that ſolemn charge upon this firſt occaſion, which I am perſuaded he intended as a general charge, a perpetual admonition, and ſtanding inſtruction, for every the like occaſion for the fu-

* See Life of Wykeham, p. 190.

† Regiſtr. Wykeham. part. 3. b. fol. 93. an. 1389.

‡ Letter, p. 48.

ture;

ture; and * which therefore I have produced and publiſhed, in order to reſtore and to fulfill his intention. The † College proceeded to their Election, and choſe Mr. John Elmer; who after mature deliberation on the weight of the office, and his own weak conſtitution and frequent infirmities, deſired to be excuſed undertaking it, and made his reſignation of it to the Founder. The Founder admitted of his excuſe and ceſſion, and ordered the ſociety to proceed to a new Election. The choice fell upon Mr. Richard Malford: the Act of Election was committed to writing, ſealed with the Common Seal, and preſented to the Biſhop together with the Warden Elect, by Mr. John Hulyn, Fellow of the College and Bachelor in Arts. The Biſhop examined the inſtrument, "et quia invenit, ut "dixit, electionem juxta formam ſtatutorum, & "infra tempus in eis ſtatutis limitatum, rite in omnibus celebratam," he confirmed the Election. Mr. Malford ‡ died in the year 1403: the Society aſked and obtained leave of the Founder to proceed to an Election, and choſe Mr. John Haſelegh; who declaring himſelf inſufficient to fill that ſtation, made a verbal renunciation of it. The Society then elected Mr. John Bouke; whom the Founder confirmed in the office. In ‖ the former of theſe Elections Mr. John Wykeham, kinſman to the Founder, was nominated: by his not being choſen,

* Appendix to the Life of Wykeham, N°. XI.
† Regiſtr. Wykeham. part. 3. b. fol. 141, &c.
‡ Regiſtr. Wykeham. part. 3. b. fol. 213.
‖ Liber Alb. Coll. Nov.

or

or at all nominated, in the latter, we may conclude, that the Founder did not interpoſe, or give the leaſt intimation of his favouring his kinſman's pretenſions; tho' he had a great regard for him, and no mean opinion of his merits: for * he had conferred upon him before this time many conſiderable benefices. What I would infer from this is; that the Founder on theſe occaſions conſidered himſelf ſimply as Patron and Viſitor of his College, and in the ſame ſituation, as he intended his Succeſſors the Biſhops of Wincheſter ſhould be. He acted in regard to his Society juſt in the ſame manner, as he deſigned they ſhould. He left the Society to be directed intirely by the Statutes, which he had given them; did not prejudice them by any previous intimation of his private inclination or opinion; did not interpoſe with his determination upon any particular caſe relating to their Election; but allowed them the full liberty of acting according to their judgement and conſcience, which he had ſo ſtrictly and ſolemnly charged: and afterward in all due form examined their proceedings by the general rules, which he had before given them, and if he found them agreeable to thoſe rules, approved and ratified them. And I preſume, if an Election of a Warden of Wincheſter College, made in the ſame manner as the laſt, had been preſented to him, he would have declared it null and void; as being 'nec juxta formam, nec juxta vim & effectum, ce-'norem & exigentiam ſtatutorum, nec infra tem-

* See Life of Wykeham, p. 9. Note [s].

'pus

'pus in eis ſtatutis limitatum, rite celebratam:' and he would himſelf have ſought out ſome perſon for that office, qualified according to his own ſtatutes; eminent for his abilities, learning, and virtue; of experienced diligence, judgement, and conduct; 'qui plus prodeſſe cuperet, quam præ-'eſſe:' —— in a word, he would have acted exactly in the ſame manner, as his preſent Truſtee hath acted for him.

But after all it is not enough, it ſeems, to have proved, that the late Election was unſtatutable, and contrary to the Founder's intentions; for, tho' the practice might have been unſtatutable and wrong at firſt ſetting out, it hath now gotten the better of that defect through length of time, and * by "uninterrupted preſcription, uſage, and tacit conſent," it is become altogether ſtatutable and right. You ſeem to place great confidence in the ſtrength of this argument, by your bringing it up in the rear to ſupport all the reſt: and for the proof of your poſition you have given us the opinions of ſeveral able Lawyers. It was prudent in you to ſet only their bare names to their ſeveral opinions, without any particular reference to the ſeveral parts of their works, where they may be found: for I ſuſpect it would there appear, that thoſe opinions do not belong to any thing like the preſent caſe. I have not now leiſure or opportunity to look after them: but I think they will ſufficiently explain themſelves,

* See Letter, p. 57.

broken

broken and imperfect as you have given them. " Suppoſe a Statute be doubtful, —— the conſtant " Practice muſt expound it." What, a College Statute? Or is a College Statute and an Act of Parliament the very ſame kind of thing, and bound upon us by the ſame ſanctions? Does then an Act of Parliament run in the ſtile of, ' We ſtrictly ' charge your conſciences in the preſence of God; ' on pain of perjury; of Anathema; of the in- ' dignation of Almighty God; and as you will ' anſwer it before God at the laſt judgement?' Is Practice to be admitted as the only expoſitor of ſuch Statute, to ſet aſide private judgement, and to ſilence conſcience; the very powers to which alone the Statute gives any ſuch commiſſion? How ſhall Statute anſwer its only end and deſign, that of regulating Practice, if Practice is to over-rule Statute, whenever one ſhall be found to differ from the other? For this will ſometimes happen; and I am afraid, that in moſt inſtitutions of long ſtanding, if Practice be the expoſitor of Statute, it will often give us an expoſition very wide of the text. Again, according to the opinion of another very eminent and learned Lawyer of the preſent age; " Rights of every Kind, which ſtand upon the foot " of Uſage,——" The *Succeſſion*, * as you call it, of the Warden of New College to the Wardenſhip of Wincheſter College, hath indeed for ſome time ſtood upon the foot of Uſage, and, lame as it is, it certainly hath no other foot to ſtand upon;

* Letter, p. 21.

but

but how comes it to be a Right? Is it a Right inherent in the ſaid Warden, a Right to be Elected? or a Right, belonging to the Society, ſo to elect him, whether the Statutes permit it, or not? a Right to expound Statute contrary to the plain literal and grammatical ſenſe, and to the intention of the Founder; provided only, that it hath been a good while ſo expounded? In ſhort, were the learned Writers, whom you have quoted, ſpeaking in theſe paſſages of any ſuch Statutes, or of any ſuch Rights? Common Law is itſelf founded in antient uſage and cuſtom; and in it cuſtom, uſage, and preſcription, are of great authority, and of great ſervice, chiefly in the fixing and aſcertaining of property: but muſt cuſtom, uſage, and preſcription, becauſe they are ſometimes admitted in Common Law, be therefore allowed ſovereign authority in matters of morality and religion? are they to ſuperſede oaths and the moſt ſacred obligations? The very objection of greateſt moment, to which this method of Election is liable, is that it eſtabliſhes a Succeſſion, for which you plead, and introduces preſcription and uſage: if ſuch an Election was to happen only once in a Century, no great inconveniences might follow from it; but when it once begins to be a Succeſſion and a Preſcription, the conſequences of it are moſt pernicious. Inſtead of hunting up and down in the writers of Common Law, for a few ſcraps of mangled and disjointed opinions, that might ſeem to favour your cauſe, you had done well to have conſulted the Founder's Statutes; you would there

there have found something really to the purpose. "We * will also, saith He, that no "usage, custom, or abuse, or any other occasion "whatsoever, shall in anything derogate from the "intention or the words of our statutes and ordinances." And he hath given this reason for his constituting a Visitor of this College: † lest "his statutes and ordinances through abuse or "disuse should in process of time seem to be abo-"lished or neglected in the whole or in part." The Founder's protestation against usage and prescription might have been judged quite unnecessary, and owing to an excess of caution; but you have fully justified his prudence and foresight in making it. You have likewise most evidently shewn, how perfectly the Visitor by his late Decision hath answered the express intention of the Founder in constituting such a power, and how necessary his interposition was on the late occasion. It was indeed high time for the Visitatorial power to interpose, when a right of Succession began to be asserted, and when Prescription and Usage began to be set up in opposition to Statute, and in open defiance of the Founder's protestation against them. The Society of New College have certainly this obligation at least to their Visitor, that he hath now restored them to their undoubted right of a Free Election of a Warden of Winchester College.

* Statut. Coll. Oxon. & Wint. Rubr. xli.
† Statut. Coll. Oxon. Rubr. 67.

For

For it is to be observed, and ought to be insisted upon as a consideration of no small importance, that in this respect also the Founder's design was totally subverted, and the Freedom of Election was destroyed to all intents and purposes. The Founder evidently intended an Election, in the proper sense of the word. His rule is: 'look over the Fellows of New College; look 'over the Fellows of Winchester College; re-'collect the several persons that have left the two 'Colleges; and then, *Detur dignissimo.*' But if the Warden of New College be a favourable Candidate, there is no room for recollection, choice, or comparison of merits: He is *dignissimus* at first sight. Here are a number, suppose an hundred persons, unquestionably qualified; here is One whose qualification is at best questionable: allow the questionable capacity of this One, and you take away in effect the unquestionable capacity of all the rest. To what purpose this laboured enumeration, so cautiously guarded with proper restrictions, if there be One person of the number, whose blazing merits must at once destroy the pretensions of those, who have a claim; and render useless the cautions against those, who have none? The forms of an Election may indeed be preserved in this case; but in fact it will be nothing more, than * 'paying 'the same respect to one Warden, that had 'been paid to his predecessors;' or, 'a behaving 'towards him with honour:' that is, in reality,

* See Letter, p. 29, 30.

sacri-

ſacrificing the Election itſelf, the deſign and ordinance of the Founder, and the rights and intereſts of the Society, in compliment to the Warden's unwarrantable pretenſions. And in this caſe, ſo far is the retaining the form from palliating the matter, that it would be infinitely better, that the form were quite omitted; that the Oxford Warden, if he muſt ſucceed, ſhould ſucceed the other of courſe, and by orderly rotation, and not by the farce and mockery of an Election; in which conſcience, oaths, and the moſt ſolemn obligations, muſt be proſtituted to preſcription, cuſtom, and uſage. In a word, if the Statute admits the Warden of New College as a Candidate, the Statute deſtroys itſelf: if He is a Candidate, there can be no other Candidate; there can be no choice; there can properly be no Election.

And now, Sir, I think I have fully complied with your demand, and have reconſidered at large every part of the Paragraph, that hath given you ſo much offence; I hope, to your ſatisfaction, ſhall I ſay? that will be flattering myſelf too much: I truſt, to the ſatisfaction of every unprejudiced perſon. I ſhall here therefore take the liberty of repeating that Paragraph, applied, as you would have it, to the hiſtory of the late Election of a Warden of Wincheſter College: the reaſons and authorities, and, I ſuppoſe, ſufficient warrant, having been above given, for my having affirmed; "That the preſent Biſhop of Wincheſter hath exe-

"cuted

" cuted the Truſt devolved upon him, by the ap
" pointment of the Founder of the Two St. Mary
" Winton Colleges, in ſuch a manner, as demands
" the moſt grateful acknowledgements of thoſe
" Societies: that he hath treated them upon all oc-
" caſions with all the tenderneſs of an indulgent
" Parent: that on a late occaſion in particular, of
" the Election of a Warden of Wincheſter Col-
" lege, when the duty of that Truſt required him
" to interpoſe with authority, his Deciſion was
" wholly diſintereſted and perfectly upright: that
" in rejecting the Warden of New College, being
" as ſuch a diſqualified perſon, and in the place of
" him appointing Mr. Golding to the Wardenſhip
" of Wincheſter College, he acted juſt as the Foun-
" der, whoſe Subſtitute he was, had preſcribed;
" juſt in every reſpect as He would have acted him-
" ſelf."

After ſo long a converſation as hath paſſed between us, I think I may now be ſo free with you, as to aſk you a plain queſtion: Pray, Sir, Who are you? You * have indeed induſtriouſly given out certain marks and characteriſtics of yourſelf; and yet I am quite at a loſs to diſcover you by them; and others, I hear, are as much puzzled, as I am. I know no one to whom thoſe marks belong; and your character, as far as I can collect it from your performance, is ſo equivocal and inconſiſtent, that I can neither fix it upon any one perſon, nor recon-

* See Letter, p. 20, 62.

cile it with itſelf. You ſay, 'you were till very 'lately a member of New College:' now what ſort of a member you were, I cannot gueſs. Am I to conclude, that you were an Artiſt; from the accuracy of your Grammaticali nterpretations, the cloſeneſs and concluſiveneſs of your Logic, the depth of your Ethics, and your perfect inſight into the motives and ſprings of human action? Or am I to ſuppoſe you a Civilian; from your profound knowledge of Laws, and your moſt judicious application of the doctrine of Preſcription, Uſage, and Tacit Conſent? Or rather a Canoniſt, of ſtill greater experience, and more perfect attainments; from your intimate acquaintance with the language and ſtyle of Statute, your clear comprehenſion of the whole deſign, and ſpirit of every part, of your Founder's inſtitution? Am I to reverence you as a Divine; convinced that you are ſuch, by the ſoundneſs of your caſuiſtry, your juſt conceptions of Moral obligation, and your ſtrict notions of the religion of an Oath? You were, it ſeems, "above "twenty-five years a Member of that College, and as "intimately concerned with the affairs of it, as "any of your contemporaries:" you muſt therefore have been a Fellow, and intimately acquainted with the principal concern of all, the Statutes, and all their particular contents; having heard them once publicly read, and having once read them over yourſelf, every year for ſo many years. How then came it to paſs, that you ſhould be ſo unfortunate in the expoſition of thoſe few paſſages, which you have quoted and publiſhed; that you ſhould for-

get,

get, that your Founder had entered his expreſs proteſtation againſt your plea of Preſcription, Uſage, and Cuſtom; that you ſhould know ſo very little of all the reſt, not ſo much, as that he had * expreſsly forbidden you to quote them as you have done, and to publiſh them at all? How came you to be ſuch a ſtranger to Dr. Golding? could you poſſibly have given ſuch a repreſentation of him, if you had lived twenty five years within the ſame walls with him? It cannot be: in pure charity to you, and for "the honour of human nature," I will not ſuppoſe it. You certainly thought yourſelf at liberty to put on a diſguiſe, and have thrown out ſome of theſe circumſtances on purpoſe to miſlead us. However, ſince you do aſſert, that you were a member of that College, you may after all, for ought that I know, have been a member of it of one ſort or another; you may perhaps have belonged to it, and left it, in the imperfect and unſhapen ſtate of a Sophiſt: I will not pretend to diſpute the juſtneſs of your claim to this character.

Out of reſpect to you therefore as a late member of the Society of New College, and in return for your civilities, I ſhall be very ready to continue this correſpondence as far as you pleaſe, and to give you the ſatisfaction that I am able, with regard to the preſent queſtion, or any thing that I have ſaid, or can ſay, any wiſe relating to it; and that with more freedom, than I have thought it proper to uſe on this occaſion: but on condition, that

* Statut. Coll. Oxon. Rubr. 62.

it

it be in a private and friendly manner, and that you favour me with your Name. As for all Anonymous Letters, I ſhall certainly abide by the rule, which you have given me, and throw them aſide with the contempt that is due to them: and I ſhall hardly be perſuaded, by any farther appeals whatſoever to the public, to trouble the public any more on this ſubject.

I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

ROBERT LOWTH.

BATH, Nov. 20, 1758.

ERRATUM.

Page 26. Line 27. *for* greater, *read* great.